

SCOTLAND AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

Submitted as partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy at the
University of Edinburgh.

Robert Botsford



Text cut off in original

DAMAGED

TEXT

IN

ORIGINAL

BEST COPY

AVAILABLE

Variable print quality

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments

Foreword

Chapter I	The Eve of the Civil War	1
" II	Clydeside and the War at Sea	133
" III	From the Attack on Fort Sumter to the <u>Trent</u> Affair	327
" IV	Economic Repercussions	391
" V	The <u>Trent</u> Affair and the Intervention Question	453
" VI	Towards Emancipation	550
" VII	Democracy as an Issue	592
" VIII	The Last Phase	799

Conclusion

Bibliography

Appendices

Acknowledgments

I am especially indebted for the invaluable advice and guidance I have received from Professor Pares, Mr. W.H. Marwick and Mr. George Shepperson of the Faculty of British History, University of Edinburgh. I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Robert H. Land, Acting Chief, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., and Mr. Zoltan Haraszti, Keeper of Rare Books, Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass., for making available to me microfilm copies of important manuscripts from their respective libraries. I also wish to record my thanks to the staffs of the National Library of Scotland, the Library of the University of Edinburgh, the Library of the Cambridge University, the British Museum Reading Room, Manuscript Room and Newspaper Library, and the Library of Friends House, London. I am also grateful to Mrs. M. Marwick and Mrs. H. Monvid for typing this thesis.

FOREWORD.

The relations between America and Scotland in the nineteenth century have had relatively little attention from historical scholars, and the impact of the Civil War upon Scotland has had almost no treatment. In view of the newness of the subject and the fact that Scottish records are in a rather scattered state, I have made considerable use of quotations from contemporary newspapers and periodicals. These quotations can, I believe, be justified in view of the fact that the press is a major source of historical information. Most of the important groups in mid-century Scotland had their own mouthpieces: the Edinburgh Radical Party had the Caledonian Mercury; the Tories the Edinburgh Evening Courant; the Whigs the Scotsman; the Owenite Labour leaders the Glasgow Sentinel; the Erastians the Glasgow Gazette; the Evangelical Protestants the Glasgow Examiner, etc. Thus, through the pages of these organs, it is possible to trace the ideological dialogue which was set off by the American crisis, as well as the impact of the decisive military and political events which arose out of it.

Inevitably, I have had to concentrate on certain aspects and have not explored thoroughly certain avenues which have not yet been adequately treated. For instance, I emphasise the political and social sides of the problem more thoroughly than the purely economic, but I have included considerable material relating to the latter in order to make the former/

the former more comprehensible. On the other hand, I have not pursued some of the more complex economic ramifications - such as the relations between Scottish firms and the South, or the full influence of the war on the Scottish shipbuilding industry. Emphasis had also fallen on Edinburgh and Clydeside (and, to a lesser extent, Dundee) whereas there is undoubtedly considerable scope for further study of the impact of the war on the smaller towns and more outlying regions of Scotland.

There is an inherent danger in studies of nineteenth century Scotland, of treating Scotland in vacuo. I have tried to avoid this by keeping in mind that Scotland was part of the United Kingdom and was thus exercising an influence on all-British and international affairs. Thus I have attempted not only to illustrate the impact of the war on Scotland on a more or less provincial level, but also to relate it to the larger setting, so that in several parts the thesis is a review of British-American relations during the war from the standpoint of Scotland. Thus I have drawn considerably from the Scottish Reviews, such as Blackwood's and the Edinburgh, and have such figures as Carlyle, Lord Brougham, and the Duke of Argyll, who were active on the "all-British" as well as purely Scottish level.

The first chapter, which treats the months just prior to the actual outbreak of the war, is rather lengthy; but I found that detailed treatment of this period was necessary in order to make the subsequent developments fully comprehensible, for instance, by showing the inter-relations between the Scottish and American Churches and anti-slavery movements.

SCOTLAND AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

CHAPTER I

THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR.

The American Civil War had repercussions on a number of other countries, and its impact on Scotland is ^{an} interesting episode in the history of that nation. The War's influence on several trends and movements of the period throws important light on these movements themselves.

The Scottish cultural renaissance which extended into the early part of the nineteenth century led to a great increase in Scotland's world status. During this period the Scottish reviews, such as Blackwood's Magazine and the Edinburgh Review, set new standards of literary criticism and became important moulders of public opinion on political issues. Sir Walter Scott flourished as one of the world's leading novelists and a potent influence in the Romantic movement. The spate of inventions which represented the scientific side of this renaissance were basic factors in the industrial revolution and helped to establish Scotland as a centre of industrialism. The writings of Scott and other Romanticists helped to create a strong bond of attachment between Scottish exiles in America and the homeland. More particularly, Scottish Romanticism contributed to the ideology of neo-feudalism which served as a link between/

between Scottish Conservatism and the strong Scottish element in the
 (1)
 plantation society of the American South.

The second important phase was the struggle for religious liberty centring on the non-intrusion controversy and the Disruption of the Church in 1843. Henceforth for a generation, a large proportion of Scotland's intellectual and moral energy was to be devoted to the efforts to protect the spiritual independence of the Church from Erastian encroachments. For many years thereafter, denominational conflicts rivalled and sometimes overshadowed the controversies of the political parties. However, denominationalism could itself serve as a vehicle for social conflict. The first of the two important, "free", Presbyterian bodies, the Secession, or as it was later known, after union with the Relief Church (1847), the United Presbyterian denomination, itself arose as a protest against a re-introduction of patronage in the 18th century.

The Secession movement therefore contained a strong element of anti-aristocratic protest; the resultant U.P. Church proved remarkably susceptible to radicalism, and was a source of strong Abolitionist sentiment.

(1) e.g. the symbols of postbellum reaction in the South, such as the Klu Klux Klan, with its fiery crosses and pseudo-chivalric mystique. See R.G. Osterweis, Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South, New Haven, 1948.

It supported Douglass and Garrison in the "send back the money campaign" in 1847, and one of its leading laymen, Duncan McLaren, was the most influential supporter of the North during the Civil War. The second body, the Free Church, arose in opposition to a far more serious attack upon the independence of the Scottish Church. Therefore, although its leader, Thomas Chalmers, had started out as a high Tory, the Free Church was a movement in opposition to the ruling powers of the day and contained a large element of the Christian social conscience which was beginning to grapple with the problems of the new age. Scottish conservatism was, on the whole, bitterly hostile to the thriving independence of free Presbyterianism and regarded it as a dangerous source of radicalism and subversion. Its clergy were sneered at by the Whig Scotsman and abused by the Tory Courant for their humble social origins and their criticism of the established order of things. (1) In Glasgow the Rev. Norman MacLeod of the Establishment contributed to the social thinking of the Church, and the Glasgow Gazette (weekly organ of the Establishment) showed a strong interest in reforms, although by the time of the Civil War it had veered to the Right and was supporting the Government of Palmerston.

(1) However, the rump Establishment itself, as it recovered from the first shock of the Disruption, began in some measure to reflect the growing Christian Social conscience. The chief magazine of the Establishment in the 1850's joined the movement led by the Free Church Divine, Dr. Begg, for better working class housing - see Edinburgh Christian Magazine, 1853, pp.307 et seq. The same denomination also developed an interest in Abolitionism at the time of the "send back the money" campaign - see Shepperson, "The Free Church and American Slavery", Scottish Historical Review, (henceforth SHR), XXX, 126-43, (1951)

Another important trend in nineteenth century Scottish history was the movement of militant Liberalism or Radicalism, which was a strong force all through the century. It was especially important in the era of Gladstone which immediately followed the Civil War, and reached its peak in the Midlothian campaign. A variety of causes contributed to this important element in the national ethos which was already in evidence in the days of Thomas Muir. The relative poverty of Scotland as compared with England, and the fact that industrialism was a more disruptive and pervasive influence, was one factor. So also were the exceptionally bad housing conditions from which the Scottish working class suffered, which were already a problem in the early nineteenth century, (1) and the more rigorous conditions of poor relief in Scotland, due to certain specific local conditions such as the influx of Irish paupers. (2) Then, too, the Scottish aristocracy, although powerful enough, were less of a direct influence on Scottish national life. Their Church (the Scottish Episcopalian) was reduced by the Glorious Revolution to the position of a small dissenting sect, henceforth outside the mainstream of national development. Henceforth the national Church was free from reactionary/

(1) Saunders, Scottish Democracy, 1815-1840, Edinburgh, 1950, pp. 161-92.

(2) W.O. Henderson, "The Cotton Famine in Scotland", SHR, XXX, 154-64; J.H. Clapham, An Economic History of Modern Britain, vol.II, Free Trade and the Age of Steel, 1850-1886, Cambridge, 1932, pp. 135-8.

reactionary influence of hierarchy and liturgy and the Conservative social attitudes derived from these aspects of Episcopacy. The Protestant doctrine of the priesthood of the believer and the consequent form of Presbyterian Church Government which involved the working together on an equal basis of people from all walks of life in the kirk session, contributed to the national conviction that "A man's a man for a' that". Scottish education, deriving as it did from Presbyterianism, played a similar role.⁽¹⁾ By the early Victorian period, urban Scotland was seething with reform movements,⁽²⁾ and after the first Reform Act, she returned unbroken Liberal majorities. By 1843, John Bright could tell his adherents in Manchester that "there are more men in Scotland in proportion to its population who are in favour of the rights of man than there are in any other equal proportion of the population of this country", and suggested that if Scotland should repeal the Union, they could press on to a more democratic government without the counter-weight of Conservative England. In the same speech he paid tribute to the alertness and intelligence of the Scottish workers and to the advanced political thinking of the urban middle class.⁽³⁾ A leading Radical organ in Glasgow summed the matter up on the eve of the Civil War: "Scotchmen, looking out at the condition/

(1) Saunders, op.cit., 241-371.

(2) Ibid, 222-37; see also L.C. Wright, Scottish Chartism, Edinburgh, 1953.

(3) J. Morley, The Life of Richard Cobden, 2 vols., London, 1881, I, 253-5.

condition of Church and State in England from the standpoints of their traditions and training could not be anything else but Radical Reformers⁽¹⁾ if they were to be true to themselves."

In the front rank of Scottish philanthropy was the anti-slavery movement. Abolition was one of the important pressure groups that in the early and middle years of the nineteenth century were working towards democracy and the complex phenomenon of modern public opinion. The movement derived its techniques from English Methodism and, together with the Free Trade and Chartist movements, developed them to a high level of efficiency, so that they contributed largely to the development of the modern political parties following the Second Reform Act. Permanent organisation, mass meetings, paid agitators, large scale pamphlet distribution, constant reiteration of certain simplified propaganda themes⁽²⁾ and slogans, all formed part of the repertoire of the movement.

The religious connections of the Abolitionist movement were to remain with it throughout its stormy history. During the eighteenth century, the anti-slavery movement was practically a monopoly of the Society of Friends.⁽³⁾ Abolitionism as a mass movement derived much of its impetus, as pointed out previously, from the evangelical revival following the Napoleonic/

(1) North British Daily Mail (henceforth the NBDM), 10th November, 1860; see also Scotsman, 13th January, 1865, article comparing Manchester and Glasgow Radicalism.

(2) e.g. Wright, op.cit.; also Raymond English (of Kenyon College, Ohio), George Thompson and the Climax of Philanthropic Radicalism, 1830-42, (unpublished MS.).

(3) T.E. Drake, The Quakers and Slavery in America, New Haven, 1950; A.T. Gary, The Political and Economic Relations of English and American Quakers, (unpublished thesis in the Friends' House Library, London).

Napoleonic wars. In America, at the corresponding time, the American Church began to extend its activities to recently settled areas of Western New York State and Ohio. The missionary activity was carried out by powerful preachers such as Charles Finney, and the subsequent evangelisation of these areas, as Professor Barnes has shown, was the genesis of the western school of American Abolitionism.⁽¹⁾ In Scotland, the U.P. and Reformed Presbyterians, together with Dissenting groups of English origin, threw in their weight with the Friends in the anti-slavery movement. Edinburgh in particular was a focal point in the final well-organised campaign for West Indian Emancipation, and the Rev. Andrew Thomson, the leading figure in the Established Church before Chalmers, put himself at the head of the movement.

The American situation was beginning to impinge increasingly on the Scottish scene from this time (i.e. 1830) onward. Since the American Revolution, Scottish Radicals looked to the great new Republic of the West as their ideal for the new society which they themselves aimed to bring into being.⁽²⁾ They noted admiringly that the new nation had no Erastian state Church, no monarchy, no landed aristocracy, hardly any standing armed forces; and on the positive side that it had a firmly established Bill of Rights, a democratic franchise, and almost unlimited opportunities for/

(1) F. Thistleswhaite, Origins of the Women's Rights Movement in the United States, (unpublished article); G.H. Barnes, The Anti-Slavery Impulse, N.Y. and London, 1933; B. Thomas, Theodore Weld, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1950.

(2) e.g. see R. Burns, "Ode on General Washington's Birthday", Robert Burns, The Complete Works, Glasgow, 1937, pp.488-9; Andrew Carnegie's Autobiography, London, 1920, shows the continuation of this attitude at a later date.

for both capital and labour. Then, too, in contrast to the disappointing results of the French Revolution, the new society in America produced a steady succession of great statesmen, with a consistency which the dynastic states of Europe, with all their vaunted aristocratic elite, had seldom achieved. The presence of slavery did, from the first, cast a small shadow upon the new democracy, but for some time it was looked upon, like West Indian slavery, as the vestige of a former unenlightened age, soon to be put right by Christian philanthropy and the pressure of democratic opinion. During the first years of the Republic this optimism seemed justified. Slavery was condemned by the Church, opposed by most of the Founding Fathers, and outlawed in one after another of the Northern States. But at the same time developments were taking place which were to check and finally reverse this trend towards extinction. The inventions of the power mule and spinning jenny established ^{cotton} ~~ma~~ cotton manufacturing as an important element in the new industrial society of Britain, and it received a tremendous impetus with the invention of the cotton gin, which was able to prepare raw cotton for manufacture at many times the rate of the older hand methods. The cotton fields of the South were consequently drawn into the expanding vortex of the Industrial Revolution, and its labour force of negro slaves ceased to contract and began to expand as rapidly as the factory system in Britain. The growing power of the slaveholding class brought an end to the "Era of Good Feeling" which followed the Napoleonic Wars, and brought into being the sectionalism which was to grow increasingly acute until the outbreak of the Civil War. At the same time, the slaveholders formed the most/

most influential segment of the new faction which came to power with the Jacksonian Revolution, and which to the disgust of Radicals and Abolitionists called itself the Democratic Party. Although the growth of slavery was certainly the most disconcerting development for the Radicals who looked for inspiration to America, certain parallel developments also revealed flaws in American society. The emergence of the spoils system, municipal corruption, "log-rolling", the "pork-barrel" and the caucus, revealed a seamy side in American politics. New forces in American life broke through the mould of the older forms to create an ethos in which many of the ideals and values of the Founding Fathers played only a minor part. With the election of Andrew Jackson, the guidance of America passed forever out of the hands of the Virginia Dynasty and the Adams family. They were succeeded by a generation of compromisers, "dark horses", and politically incompetent generals; by the strident chauvinism of Manifest Destiny; and by a generally lowered tone of political life. And, wherever the slave power established and consolidated its power, political rights, the franchise, and religious freedom itself began to dwindle; and a hierarchical class system emerged which was more rigid even than that of nineteenth century Britain. Following their acquisition of political power in the South, the resurgent slaveholders turned their attention to the Church. Pro-slavery schismatics were encouraged and anti-slavery dissenters were either forced, like the Southern Quakers, to remain silent, or, like the Secession and Reformed Presbyterians/

Presbyterians, were suppressed and driven from the South by a wave of violence and terrorism. (1)

Meanwhile, Scotland was being drawn into closer contact with the Western Continent. The development of steam navigation meant a vast increase in travellers from one country to the other. Americans brought their various views and prejudices to Scotland, and more Scots were able to obtain a first hand impression of American society - to admire or be shocked at Southern slavery and to admire or be alarmed at the North's increasing (2)

prosperity and power. But a link more important than tourism was the development of the Scottish cotton industry. The importation of raw cotton to Scotland began in 1765, and the first cotton mills were established during the American Revolution, and the industry grew steadily from then on. (3)

(1) Drake, op.cit., passim; H.C. Wright, American Slavery proved to be Theft and Robbery, Edinburgh, 1845, passim.

(2) A. Abel and F. Klingberg, A Sidelight on Anglo-American Relations, 1839-1858, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, passim, esp. p.369.

(3) Henderson, op.cit., 154 et seq. Henderson gives an excellent bibliography on the Scottish cotton industry on p.154, f.n.3. See especially: J. Sinclair, Board of Agriculture General Report, Scotland (1814), II, 308-20; New Statistical Account of Scotland, 1845, esp. V, 11; VI, 140-58, 958-9; Chalmer's Caledonia, Paisley, 1887, esp. II, 883; III, 42; V, 14, 18; VI, 818; VII, 15; Publications of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, I, Notices of "Manufactures in the West of Scotland", Glasgow, 1876, pp.185-215; II, "Local Industries and the West of Scotland", ed. A. M'Lean, Glasgow, 1901; 135-157; papers by J. Strang to the British Association printed in Journal of the Statistical Society, London, XX, (1857), 308-12, 427-8, and XXI, 464-7; D. Bremner, Industries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1869, 270-94.

By 1830 it was Scotland's chief industry, playing proportionately as important a role in Scotland's life as in England's.⁽¹⁾ The South was the source of 80% of the cotton imports, and the fact that such a major source of the nation's wealth was dependent upon the labour of millions of slaves, was deeply repugnant to Scottish Abolitionists and reformers. Scottish protests against slavery could be countered by pointing out that the use of cotton goods morally involved the user in the slave system. At the same time, the servile insurrection, led by Nat Turner, revealed the unstable basis of the slave empire and for the first time revealed the disturbing possibility of a sudden cutting-off of cotton imports from the South.

Thus, the necessity to vindicate American democracy in the face of local conservative criticism, and the urge to free Scotland from its involvement with slavery, were the two main factors in focussing the attention of Scottish reformers on America. Their interest was also aroused by the emergence of a new force on the American scene. The inadequacy of the older types of Abolitionism became increasingly apparent in the face of the rapid growth of the slave power. The advocates of the various plans for gradual, compensated emancipation were overwhelmed by the growing arrogance of the pro-slavery advocates and increasing timidity of the dominant financial and commercial class in the North, which were intimidated by threats of secession from the South. The growth of American nationalism/

(1) Henderson, op.cit., 155; W.H. Marwick, Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland, London, 1936, 124, et.al.

nationalism also created a large body of opinion in the North which was willing to make almost any concession to the South in order to preserve the Union and was willing even to some extent to aid the South by suppressing anti-slavery activity. It was at this point that William Lloyd Garrison, then a poverty-stricken young journalist, issued his famous manifesto demanding, for the first time, immediate emancipation. His newspaper, the Liberator, commenced at the same time, assailed slavery with a new note of fervour, and was to continue for a generation as the spearhead of the growing anti-slavery movement. But Garrison made little progress in the first few years, and for a time it seemed as though his American Anti-Slavery Society might be submerged through lack of money and public support. Then, in 1834, immediately after the freeing of the West Indian slaves, the Scottish Abolitionists hit upon the idea of channelling the immense public support which they had recently engendered in the West Indian campaign, for the purpose of aiding American Abolitionism. Permanent Emancipation Societies were formed in Edinburgh and Glasgow under the leadership respectively of John Wigham and William Smeal, both of the Society of Friends. The Glasgow group proceeded to dispatch the Radical orator, George Thompson, to aid the struggling American Anti-Slavery Society. Thompson, with the aid of the new techniques developed in Britain to influence public opinion, gave a great impetus to the American movement in the course of a stormy five month tour in 1835, and created a lasting link between Scottish and American Abolitionism. Henceforth, the American movement was to depend upon Scotland as one of its sources of financial and moral encouragement, and in the/

the following years, a number of American anti-slavery workers reciprocated Thompson's visit.

In the Abolitionist movement, as well as within the movement for Indian Reform, in which many of the Abolitionists were active, there were considerable differences between the vigorous Radicals of Scotland and Northern England, and the more conservative reformers in London, and southern England generally. (1) This polarity between London and the North appeared also within the Society of Friends. The Friend, the official organ of the denomination in London, tended to emphasise the conservative and Quietist aspects of Quakerism, and was not in sympathy with the new generation of Friends, both in northern Britain and America, who were becoming increasingly convinced of their duty to take a more active part in public affairs to further such causes as Free Trade, the peace movement, and prison reform. In 1843, when the Anti-Slavery Friends in Indiana formed an organisation separate from the existing Yearly Meeting in that state, the Friend strongly condemned the new group and refused to allow Elisabeth Pease and other Abolitionists to discuss the issue in its pages. (2) This move inspired William Smeal, the Abolitionist leader in Glasgow, to found the British Friend, which preached a sturdy brand of radicalism more in keeping with Quaker feeling in the north. In contrast to the Friend/

(1) See J.H. Bell, British Folk and British India, London, 1892, pp.64, 75-8, 109-11, et passim.

(2) E. Pease - W.L. Garrison, 30th June, 1843, quoted in Bell, loc.cit.

the Friend, the British Friend stood squarely upon Garrison's platform of
(1)
immediate emancipation for the American slaves.

The conflict over slavery soon involved the Church born of the 1843 Disruption. The Free Church of Scotland found itself faced with an intense moral dilemma. At its inception it was in desperate financial straits; it was cut off from the endowments of the Establishment, possessed no churches or property of any sort, and, while a large part of its membership was of low economic status, it was entirely dependent on voluntary contributions. At the same time its adherents were convinced that the cause of religious freedom in Scotland depended ultimately upon its success or failure, and in that belief the clergy and many of the poorer laity were making almost unbearable sacrifices, sometimes to the brink of starvation. At the same time, the Free Church saw the possibility of drawing support from the strong Scottish element in the American South, involved as much of that element was in the economy of the slave system. The Free Church leaders finally decided to attempt this latter expedient in an effort to bolster their cause in Scotland. This decision led Dr. Chalmers to write a highly controversial letter to the Rev. Dr. Smyth, a prominent Southern Presbyterian, in which he gave it as his opinion that
(2)
slave holding should not necessarily exclude a person from the Church.

(1) See the files of the Friend and the British Friend for the years 1843-65; also Rufus Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism, London, 1921, 594, 943; also Drake, op.cit., chapters 8 and 9.

(2) W. Hanna, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D. Edinburgh, 1852, LV, appendix I; Shepperson, op.cit.

This letter contributed greatly to the strong response of the Southern Presbyterians to the Free Church delegation which visited America in search of support in 1844. The delegation received large contributions in the Southern States as well as considerable moral support. On the other hand, Chalmers came under strong fire from the Abolitionist movement, particularly after the publication of a second letter of his on slavery (12 May 1845), stating that: "distinction ought to be made between the character of a (1) system and the persons whom circumstances have implicated therewith". Other prominent Free Churchmen such as Drs. Candlish and Cunningham also argued against the Abolitionist demand for the excommunication of slaveholders. Candlish, for instance, maintained that: "Slaveholding should not exclude from the Church"; (2) "that neither Wilberforce nor Thomson (i.e. Rev. Andrew Thomson), nor any of the men in this country who fought the battle of emancipation ever made use of this instrument (i.e. Excommunication) or found this platform necessary for fighting the battle of liberty and of God"; (3) and that excommunication of slaveholders; "tends to hinder and obstruct the legitimate and natural scriptural influence of Christianity in putting an end to slavery". (4) It should be noted that the Free Church always opposed slavery per se. Many of its members were not satisfied/

(1) T. Smyth, Autobiographical Notes, ed. L.C. Stoney, Charleston, 1914, p.352; Shepperson, op.cit.

(2) Wright, op.cit., 6.

(3) Ibid, 9.

(4) Wright, op.cit., 15.

satisfied with its acceptance of Southern money, and a Free Church
 (1)
 Abolitionist group was formed.

The climax of the controversy over Chalmers' stand on slavery came in 1846, when the Abolitionists organised a nation-wide campaign to persuade the Free Kirk to "send back the money" which they had collected in the South. To reciprocate Thompson's visit in 1834, a delegation of American Abolitionists arrived on the scene, headed by Garrison and Frederick Douglass. Passions were aroused on both sides as the slogan "send back the money" was placarded and painted all about Edinburgh. The campaign was supported by the staunchly anti-slavery Secession Kirk and the smaller
 (2)
 evangelical denominations, and was soon joined by the Residuaries, who saw the chance of stealing some thunder from the Free Church. The episode not only helped to focus Scottish opinion on American slavery, but also stimulated Abolitionist thought within the Free Church; the Rev. MacBeth of Glasgow was a prominent critic of his Church's policy, and a Free Church Anti-Slavery Society was founded. The whole affair contributed considerably to the sectarian conflict. The affair flared up again in 1849, ostensibly over the question of the disposal of Knox's house in the Canongate. The whole question was again gone over, with the Free Kirk accusing the other denominations of persecuting it because of the "money"
 (3)
 and also to cover up certain incidents which implicated them with slavery. However,/

(1) Shepperson, op.cit., 129-30.

(2) Those who remained within the Establishment after the Disruption were referred to in Scotland as the "Residuaries".

(3) Witness, 4th July 1849; Scottish Press, 7th & 11th July; Scotsman, 11th July; Shepperson, op.cit., 141.

However, this pressure no doubt helped to stiffen the Free Kirk's attitude to slavery, particularly after Chalmers' death in 1847.

The tremendous success of Uncle Tom's Cabin and the subsequent visit of its author provided the next major international impetus to Scottish Abolitionism. This anti-slavery polemic was the "best-seller" of its time and reached a vast audience which had been hitherto little affected by Abolitionist propaganda. The GES took shrewd advantage of the popular feeling aroused by the book by organising a nation-wide penny collection, with the object of collecting a penny from every Scot who had been aroused by the evil of slavery by reading Mrs. Stowe's work. A large sum was collected and presented to Mrs. Stowe to be used in the furtherance of emancipation.⁽¹⁾ In 1853 Mrs. Stowe made a triumphal tour of Scotland, first visiting Glasgow and then proceeding to Edinburgh at the invitation of one of her chief British protégés, the Duchess of Sutherland. At this time the Lord Provost of the capital was Duncan McLaren, a prominent Radical politician, who was also a staunch supporter of Abolitionism through the medium of the Scottish Press and later the Caledonian Mercury. He gave Mrs. Stowe an official welcome and a banquet, besides arranging all of her Edinburgh meetings.⁽²⁾

The enthusiasm for Uncle Tom's Cabin provided Scottish Abolitionism with/

(1) G. Shepperson, "Harriet Beecher Stowe in Scotland", SHR, XXII, 40-6, (1953). See also GES minute books (in Smeal Collection, Mitchell Library) for 1852, et seq.

(2) Scottish Press, 23rd April, 1853; J.B. Mackie, Life of Duncan M'Laren, London, 1888, 2 vols., pp. 318-9.

with a much-needed restorative in the face of the difficulties which overtook it at this time. After 1850, the Scottish movement was affected by the same dissension, concerning the person and policy of Garrison, which afflicted American anti-slavery activity.

The Split in the Abolitionist Movement.

The controversy within the American Abolitionist movement centred on the personality and doctrines of its founder, William Lloyd Garrison. Garrison was also an advocate of a number of other philanthropic causes, such as women's rights and pacifism, which in his mind became inseparable from Abolitionism. Some Abolitionists began to believe that Garrison's attempt to impose these other causes on the movement alienated many who would otherwise support anti-slavery. Then too, the methods advocated by Garrison were called into question by a growing number of Abolitionists. In particular, opposition was aroused by his advocacy of secession by the free states, a stand which immediately alienated the new nationalism of the West, just as his sweeping attacks on the Church tended to cut him off from an important source of support. Thus, while Garrison continued to appeal to the more sophisticated idealism of New England, Western Abolitionists tended to rally around the rival "New" anti-slavery movement led by Lewis Tappan and Theodore Weld. This group advocated political action within the framework of the Union, encouraged clerical support, and left in abeyance such controversial issues as women's rights. The New school grew in strength as its territorial base, the Northwest, became an increasingly important

important factor in American politics and economy, whereas Garrison's influence was increasingly reduced outside of New England. In New England anti-slavery circles, however, he continued to reign supreme. The controversy was carried to Britain as early as 1837, when a New anti-slavery group was formed in Massachusetts, and Garrison was attacked in Britain as being an atheist and Sabbath-breaker. Similar abuse was directed against John A. Collins, who toured Britain in 1840-41 as an emissary of Garrison's Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society. The accusations were accepted in toto by the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, a move which widened the breach between that group and the northern philanthropists such as Thompson and the Pease family. (1) A vigorous defence of Collins was then undertaken by Harriet Martineau and Elizabeth Pease, and Collins published a pamphlet in Glasgow, defending Garrison and himself, entitled: "Right and Wrong among the Abolitionists of the U.S." These efforts helped to stem the tide of anti-Garrisonism, which had just at this time been further encouraged by Garrison's split with the First World Anti-Slavery Convention on the issue of admitting women. Elizabeth Pease obtained endorsements of Garrison's character from a number of American Abolitionists and in June 1841, Garrison himself wrote affirming his religious orthodoxy. The British and Foreign Society, however, "wriggled out of accepting them", and thus confirmed the suspicions of the northern philanthropists concerning its sincerity. (2)

(1) A.M. Stoddart, Elizabeth Pease Nichol, London, 1899, pp.125-30.

(2) Ibid, 127-8.

The "send back the money" campaign against the Free Kirk can thus be seen in the context of Garrisonian tactics and the resulting furore helped to produce in Scottish Abolitionism a split similar to that in the American movement. In 1851, New Anti-Slavery Societies were formed in Edinburgh and Glasgow "containing the bulk of the dissenting ministers and a few of the Free Kirk ones."⁽¹⁾ The Abolitionist campaign against the Evangelical Alliance also contributed to the split.⁽²⁾ So also did the decision of Frederick Douglass in 1850 to break with Garrison and join the New movement. Douglass had achieved considerable influence in Scotland where his name cropped up again and again in newspaper and magazine articles, which referred to him as a standing refutation of the Southern doctrine of negro inferiority. His biographer mentions a significant extract from the ledger of his personal newspaper, the North Star, which reveals that in the year 1850 it had 42 subscribers in Glasgow, 14 in Edinburgh and 8 in Falkirk, as opposed to 18 for all of England.⁽³⁾

The schism was^{a/}serious, although far from fatal, setback to Scottish Abolitionism. The entries in the Glasgow Emancipation Society's minute books become noticeably sparser for the middle and later 1850's, and one can detect a note of discouragement in the face of American developments

(1) Smeal-Chamerazow, 16th April 1853; quoted in Shepperson, "The Free Church and American Slavery", 140, f.n.2.

(2) Shepperson, op.cit., 139.

(3) B. Quarles, Frederick Douglass, Washington, 1948, p.95.

which must have been prevalent among Scottish Abolitionists during these years which saw the overthrow of the various compromises limiting slavery in America and the steady advance of the slave power under the protecting wing of the dominant Democratic Party. The diversion of effort, and particularly of money, into two separate channels was, of course, the chief drawback of the split for the Scottish Abolitionists. According to William Smeal, the "send back the money" campaign had seriously depleted the funds of the Glasgow Emancipation Society⁽¹⁾ and the schism, following hard on, greatly hindered the replenishing of the treasury. The New Abolitionists were likewise affected. Douglass's paper, which depended to some extent on British support, ran into difficulties to such an extent, that Julia Griffiths, Douglass's business manager, undertook a major fund-raising tour of Britain during 1855-56, "armed with letters recommending the cause" from Tappan, Goodell and Gerritt Smith. She received endorsements and moral support from a number of anti-slavery groups, especially the Glasgow New Association, which circulated a broadside Anti-Slavery Appeal, and a pamphlet supporting Douglass' paper: "As a standing testimony against calumny uttered respecting the inferiority of the coloured man". The tangible financial results of Miss Griffiths' effort is, however, not known, and Douglass' biographer is convinced that "results were not encouraging" and⁽²⁾ attributes this to Douglass' break with Garrison.

(1) Smeal-Chamerasow, 16th April 1853, Shepperson, loc.cit.

(2) Quarles, Frederick Douglass, Washington, 1948, pp.94-5.

In the autumn of 1856, Mrs. Stowe made a second visit to Scotland, probably in part as a rejoinder to the Griffiths expedition, for she made a point of preaching the virtues of the Garrison party.⁽¹⁾

Thus, the controversy simmered on. The New Association continued to draw increasing support from the Free Kirk and from the Evangelical ministers who had hitherto held aloof from the movement. It does not seem to have become particularly strong in Edinburgh where the Emancipation Society, under the leadership of the Wighams, remained the dominant force. In Glasgow, however, it proved a formidable rival to the Emancipation Society of Smeal and Paton, and seems to have received somewhat more support than the older body. On the whole, it attracted the more solid and "respectable" of the anti-slavery sympathisers. The pro-Garrison Emancipation Societies retained the support of the feminists and the peace-party movements which in Scotland were largely represented by the same people: Priscilla Bright McLaren; Elizabeth Pease Nichol; and Eliza Wigham. Nor were they completely without clerical support, for a number of the more radical U.P. and Independent ministers (such as the Rev. William Anderson) remained loyal.

By the outbreak of the Civil War, the Abolitionists had by their persistent efforts created a climate of public opinion which was strongly hostile to American slavery. It is difficult to assess the attitude on the subject in specifically working class circles because of the absence of/

(1) Stoddart, op.cit., 216-7.

of the absence of written records for the period, and the fact that the active leaders of the Abolitionists were drawn from the middle class.

During the 1840's, one section of the Chartists had been suspicious and hostile toward the Abolitionists who, they felt, were neglecting the sufferings of those close at hand in favour of people thousands of miles
(1) away.

Ironically, this argument was also used against the Abolitionists by extreme Conservatives. The staunchly right-wing Glasgow Herald, for instance, sneered at the fund-raising activities of the Lady Abolitionists in aid of the "well-clothed and well-fed negroes abroad" and told them to contribute the money to the Glasgow poor (Glasgow Herald, 19 Jan. 1838). William Smeal's rejoinder to the Herald in this instance should be noted as showing the Abolitionist side of the question; he pointed out that the Lady Abolitionists were among those who worked hardest to relieve the distress in Glasgow, and that the great amount of effort which they had already put into the cause would be entirely wasted if it were not sustained year by year. After contradicting the editor's picture of the Negro's conditions, he suggested that those who had hitherto done nothing to support Abolitionism might well afford to contribute something toward local relief, which/

(1) Thus, during the early 1840's we find Chartists repeatedly taking over Abolitionist meetings to propound their own cause: W.P. and F.J. Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison, 4 vols., London, 1885-9, II, 339-400; Shepperson, "The Free Church and American Slavery", p.138; Life and Letters of James and Lucretia Mott, ed. E. Hallowell, Boston, 1884, p.176. To avoid the impression that there was any consistent antagonism between Chartists and Abolitionists, it should be noted that Lucretia Mott entirely approved of these tactics on the part of the Chartists, and that Elizabeth Pease was also active in the Chartist movement, - Stoddart, loc.cit.

which should be primarily the responsibility of the wealthy section of the community rather than of the struggling Abolitionist societies - New Liberator, 27 Jan. 1838 - and Arthur Tappan pointed out to the Scottish workers at a later date that, bad as their conditions were at times, they could not be compared with the situation of the slaves. ⁽¹⁾ However, the prosperity which set in after the repeal of the corn laws soon seeped down to large sections of the working class, and the acute distress that was such a prominent feature of the economic landscape during the heyday of Chartism began to recede, except for such chronically depressed groups as the miners and handloom weavers. This encouraged a more international outlook on the part of labour. By 1850, the workers of Glasgow had become sufficiently concerned over the menace of the slave power to hold a mass meeting to protest against the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act and also to ⁽²⁾ link this protest with a demand for working class franchise.

During the discouraging decade of the Fifties, the bonds of the Abolitionists "internationale" continued to be renewed and strengthened by the interchange of prominent visitors. During this period a number of prominent anti-slavery Americans travelled to Scotland to encourage their Scottish colleagues to keep the cause in the forefront of the public mind, to collect funds for their work in America, and to propound the respective merits of whichever Abolitionist faction they happened to belong to.

We/

(1) in a letter quoted in Shepperson, op.cit., 138.

(2) Garrison, op.cit., IV, 305, f.n.

We have already discussed the two important visits of Harriet Beecher Stowe, and the mission of Julia Griffiths. Among other American visitors⁽¹⁾ was S.J. May, who spoke at a conference of Glasgow Abolitionists in 1859 at the home of Professor Nichol. May records that he was greatly impressed and encouraged by the thorough knowledge of the American situation which the Glasgow anti-slavery leaders displayed. In the months which intervened between May's visit and the outbreak of the Southern Rebellion two other American Abolitionists toured Scotland, the Rev. George Cheever and Frederick Douglass. The events connected with their appearance form a distinct chapter in the history of Scottish Abolitionism and throw some interesting light on the Scottish scene on the eve of the Civil War.

The next phase of Abolitionist history was ushered in by ominous events in America. Both the Whig and Democratic parties had been vying to obtain the favour of the slaveholding class, and under the pressure of this competition the compromises which had hitherto limited the expansion of slavery in the Western territories were scrapped, Mexico was invaded and large territories were carved out of this unfortunate country for the benefit of the landhungry slaveholders. The moral collapse of the Whig party at this critical time was consummated when Daniel Webster, hitherto the darling of New England Abolitionists, endorsed these pro-slavery policies. Lincoln retired in disgust from Congress in 1848, and the Whig Party came to an end several years later, leaving the Democratic in complete ascendancy. The Fugitive Slave Act, which made slavery legally valid/

(1) S.J. May, The Anti-Slavery Conflict, Boston, 1869, p.385.

valid throughout the free states, and the Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court which declared that the negro "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect", were further victories for the Southern ruling class. At the same time the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska Act opened up the hitherto free territory of Kansas to slavery. The slaveholders were being driven at this period to accelerate their expansionist policy in order not only to keep their representation in the Senate equal to that of the more populous North, but also to find land for their own discontented and pugnacious class of poor whites. Under the benevolent eye of the Democratic Administration, Kansas was invaded by the Border Ruffians, armed Southerners who intended to seize political power in the territory and then to apply for the admission of Kansas to the Union as a slave state. This attempted putsch moved anti-slavery adherents, particularly in the disputed area, to adopt a less pacific brand of Abolitionism. Although the Democratic Administration made no effort to restrain the Border Ruffians, the latter met with resistance from the Abolitionists, who defeated the invaders after several years of guerilla warfare and established Kansas as a free state. Among those chiefly responsible for the repulse of the slave power was the partisan leader, Captain John Brown, whose fame reached Scotland, where he was known as "Ossawatamie Brown", after one of his victories.

Following the success of the struggle for Kansas, Captain Brown conceived a plan for striking a blow against slavery in its own preserve, and in 1859 he engineered the insurrection at Harpers Ferry in Virginia. Brown was defeated and captured by Colonel (later General) Robert Lee and/

and was subsequently hanged by the Virginia government. The Rising, however, attracted great attention not only in the North but also in Britain, where it brought home for the first time to many people the gravity of the American situation; and Brown immediately became a martyr to Abolitionists the world over, attracting many new sympathisers to the cause. In Scotland, the Abolitionist rising aroused tremendous sympathy, leading to a widespread re-awakening of interest in the slavery question,⁽¹⁾ which brought new hope to the veterans of Scottish Abolitionism.

Eliza Wigham reported that: "Nothing that has taken place in America seems to have had so much effect here than this murder of a man whom all must admire, and whose bearing throughout has been worthy of a martyr."⁽¹⁾

Eulogies of the fallen hero appeared in several Radical and Free Kirk journals in Edinburgh, together with denunciations of his executioners. The evangelical and Radical Caledonian Mercury suggested prophetically that the rising and its aftermath were but the prelude to catastrophic developments:

"John Brown has been executed in Virginia. He met his fate with the composure of the true hero. There is no reason to doubt that he was really a pious, duty-impelled man, and that, however miscalculated his policy may have been, it was gone into from the purest and noblest of motives.

(1) E. Wigham - Saml. May Jr., 22 Dec. 1859. All correspondence of Eliza Wigham referred to here is from the Garrison collection of Abolitionist papers, Boston Public Library.

motives. He will do more for the abolition of slavery by his death than by his life. Cause more righteous than that in which he died there cannot be, and generations after America shall have passed through the fiery ordeal in which the guilt of her 'domestic institution' will sooner or later involve her, old John Brown will be deemed a martyr of whom his country may be proud."⁽¹⁾

The Mercury, however, tended to disregard the Southern threats of secession which followed the rising as mere attempts to frighten the North into supporting slavery more whole-heartedly. An article on the Rising several days later is evidence that Scottish radicals were still strongly influenced by Garrison's doctrine that secession was an Abolitionist weapon,⁽²⁾ and that the break-up of the Union would ultimately benefit the slave.

That evangelical opinion was almost universally stirred is indicated by the fact that both the U.P. Scottish Press and the Free Kirk Witness⁽³⁾ also spoke out in favour of Brown. The intervention of the Free Kirk organ illustrates the fact that this denomination had moved considerably from the position which it had held at the time of the "send back the money" campaign. The death of Chalmers in 1847 had made it possible for younger/

(1) Cal.Merc., 17th Dec.1859.

(2) Cal.Merc., 20th Dec.1859: "As W.L. Garrison remarked at Boston, 'For the South to leave the Union would be like the paupers leaving a town.' The North can do without the South but the South cannot do without the North. For the South to tear apart the connecting link would be political suicide. If they cut away the life-boat they will inevitably perish in the storm."

(3) Scottish Press, 17th Dec.1859; Witness, 17th Dec.

younger and more radical ministers to have greater power to mould the Church's attitude on the slavery issue. The sacrifices of its members had also freed it from any necessity to look for financial support from the South. Among the new leaders of the Free Kirk was the Rev. Thomas Guthrie, an active social reformer, whose church, Free St. John's, became an anti-slavery centre during the 1850's. Since the advent of the steamboat, Edinburgh had already become something of a Mecca for American tourists, especially those of the Presbyterian denomination. Many of them were drawn to Free St. John's, where Guthrie's forceful preaching had won for him an international reputation. Dr. Guthrie had already made many contacts with Americans during the fund-raising campaign following the Disruption, and he took the opportunity to renew and extend these associations during his ministry at Free St. John's, in order to use his influence in the cause of Abolition. He often denounced slavery from the pulpit and also made a practice of inviting Americans to breakfast during the tourist season in order (1) "to dose them on the subject of slavery."

The /

(1) T. Guthrie, Autobiography, 2 vols., London, 1874-5, p.666; he records offending an American slave-holding lady by a particularly "unsparing" attack on slavery from the pulpit in 1853, op.cit., 509.

The new trend of thought in the Free Kirk on the slavery question can be seen most vividly in the part played in the Cheever campaign by the Rev. Robert Candlish, who had (as much as anyone could do so) inherited the mantle of Dr. Chalmers. We have seen that at the time of the Disruption the Rev. Candlish refused to go along with the Garrisonian demand that slave-holders be excommunicated, and had drawn down the ire of the Garrison party⁽¹⁾ by laying down the line that "Slavery should not exclude from the Church".⁽²⁾ It will be remembered that even at that time a number of Free Kirk members had desired a more decisive policy towards slavery and had formed their own Abolitionist group. In the following years the march of events in America had brought this anti-slavery feeling within the Free Kirk to the forefront. It became increasingly difficult for such convinced opponents of slavery as the Rev. Candlish to believe that general enlightenment and religious persuasion would lead to gradual Abolition. The Mexican War, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the Dred Scott decision, the Fugitive Slave Act - all showed that "Slavocracy" refused to die a peaceful death in its own corner. The attempt to silence such a renowned Churchman as Dr. Cheevers, was a final inducement to the Rev. Candlish to come forward as a militant Abolitionist.

The Rev Cheever was the pastor of the (Congregational) Church of the Puritans, a centre of Christian Abolitionism in New York City, and had acquired/

(1) e.g. H.C. Wright, American Slavery Proved to be Theft and Robbery, Edinburgh, 1845.

(2) Op.cit., p.6.

acquired an international reputation for his anti-slavery work. Since New York's economic development and prosperity depended to a large extent upon the fact that the city was the great commercial entrepot of the South, the wealthier sections of society tended to have pro-slavery leanings and certainly abhorred any political or religious activity which might offend the Southern ruling class. Consequently a campaign was begun to silence Cheever, and in 1859 the wealthy minority of his congregation refused to make any payments towards the ground rent or debts of the church unless Cheever ceased his anti-slavery work or was removed. To counter this move, Cheever, with the backing of the majority of his congregation, went to Scotland in the autumn of 1859 with the object of collecting funds to enable him to carry on his struggle. His arrival in Scotland in early December coincided perfectly with the wave of sympathy for the Harpers Ferry Rising and outburst of indignation over the execution of Captain Brown. The Caledonian Mercury gave editorial support to the American minister and quoted a letter from an "Edinburgh lady" who praised Cheever and donated five pounds to help his cause. (1) The evangelical conscience responded strongly to the Reverend Cheever's appeal. The deacon' courts in (Candlish's) Free St. George's and (Guthrie's) Free St. John's urged that collections be taken up for Cheever; the Rev. Jonathan Watson promised a collection; and soon many other Edinburgh pastors and churches followed suit. The movement spread/

(1) Cal.Mer., 8th Dec. 1859; The letter went thus: Dear Friend - Slavery is as great an abomination as ever. There are few honestly denouncing it in the States, so Cheever must be supported, and I send five pounds for that purpose." It is quite likely that the writer was Eliza Wigham, who was an associate of Duncan M'Laren and his Quaker wife, Priscilla Bright.

spread to other parts of Scotland, and in Dundee, the Rev. George Gilfillan, renowned Abolitionist orator of the U.P. Kirk, preached a sermon in support of the American minister. By the latter part of the month Eliza Wigham could report to America that: "The ministers are moved and are taking up the subject warmly."⁽¹⁾

On December 22nd, a memorable rally in support of Cheever was held in the Queen St. Hall in Edinburgh, at which the Rev. Candlish appeared as the chief speaker. His speech showed that he saw clearly the approach of the "Irrepressible Conflict" and had altered his previous optimistic approach to the problem.

"At one time," he declared, "there might have been some pretext for saying that it was enough for Abolitionists only to speak and write against slavery, but the time has now changed."⁽²⁾ Since slavery has broken out of its former limits and become aggressive, he had abandoned hope for an evolutionary solution to the slavery problem and urged that at the next session of Congress, the slaveholders should be called upon to surrender or fight.

"For we have here a hostile power - hostile to liberty, hostile to God and hostile to man - - - bursting the bounds within which it was hoped it had been fettered and coming forth to pollute the free air of the North and/

(1) and to add with a wry touch of Garrisonian anti-clericalism, "We are very glad anything has had the power to move them." E. Wigham - Saml. May Jr., 22 Dec. 1859.

(2) Scotsman, 23 Dec. 1859.

and debauch men's minds all over America, and by sheer force of arms and by sheer importunity in the legislature threatening to break up the Union (1) and to compel the free soil of America to be stained by the curse of slavery", Dr. Guthrie also spoke at this demonstration. He dwelt upon his admiration for all American institutions except for slavery, and disclosed that he had often been invited to America.

"They have promised to frank me to and fro. I will tell you plainly and publicly why I will not go. If I went I could not keep my temper! I could not go and see a fellow creature - a little child or a woman - set up to auction to be sold; it would stir my blood and I could not hold my tongue."

Dr. Guthrie attacked not only slavery but also the discriminatory treatment of free negroes which was to be found in the North as well as the South: "I could not go into one of their pulpits and look on a sea of white faces and then behold some poor negro, in whose beaming eye I discern a loving heart towards my blessed Lord, and I could not see that man standing in a corner and professing Christians refusing to sit down with him at the Lord's table - the man who perhaps will go into the Kingdom of Heaven in front of them all. These are things which I could not stand." (2)

The fact that the Free Kirk leaders joined in strongly with the U.P. and Independent denominations in this response to Dr. Cheever's appeal was a significant development in the history of Scottish Abolitionism. It/

(1) W. Wilson, Memorial of R.S. Candlish, Edinburgh, 1880, p. 521; during the previous month Dr. Candlish had taken an active part in two rallies to support Lord Elgin's project for settling Fugitive slaves in Canada. The principal speakers at these meetings were two Canadians, the Rev. Mr. King and Mr. Day. Cal Mer., 26 Nov. and 29 Nov. 1859.

(2) T. Guthrie, Autobiography, p.666.

It marked the setting aside of the sectarian bitterness engendered by the "send back the money" campaign and was thus a crucial factor in the building up in Scotland of a common front against the slave power in America on the eve of the Civil War.

The new position taken by the Free Kirk leaders had immediate repercussions in conservative circles in America where the Free Kirk had hitherto been considered to be fairly accommodating on the slavery question. On January 25, 1860, the Presbyterian of Philadelphia rebuked Drs. Guthrie and Candlish for their speeches at the Edinburgh rally and remarked sternly that "there can be no apology". The article repeated the usual conservative charge against the Abolitionists by declaring that they were "much more concerned for the slaves in the United States than for the degraded and wretched in their own land". Dr. Guthrie was also accused of being "bloodthirsty" and of wishing success to the next negro rising.⁽¹⁾ The Presbyterian's article was based on information passed on by "an American gentleman" present at the meeting, who evidently⁽²⁾ distorted Dr. Guthrie's speech at a number of points.

Dr. Guthrie's rejoinder took the form of an open letter to the American press. In this letter he agreed with his accusers that there was "no apology" - in the sense that he had no intentions of apologising for/

(1) Quoted in the Scotsman, 5th March 1860.

(2) Dr. Guthrie himself believed that the informer was a man pointed out to him at the time as a minister from the slave states, see his open letter on American slavery published in the Liberator, 13th April 1860, - it may have been J. Hitchcock Carroll. Thomas Smyth, D.D., Autobiographical Notes, Letters and Reflections, ed. L.C. Stoney, Charleston, 1914, pp. 559-60, 573.

for the sentiments expressed. However, he declared that the Presbyterian owed an apology for giving a false report of his speech. He denied saying that the negroes should "fight to the knees in the blood of the white man" and other such statements. He maintained that he hated war but upheld the right of oppressed people, including the American slaves, to rebel, and that the slavery question would come to a violent climax unless Americans agreed on a policy of peaceful Abolition: "When the slaves are fighting for their rights, your disaster may recall the fearful words of Jefferson: 'What attribute of Jehovah would allow him to take part with us ?'"

Dr. Guthrie proceeded to criticise the Presbyterian for not reporting the pro-American part of his speech, in which he had praised most of America's institutions. He pointed to the contrast between Czarist Russia, the centre of obscurantism and despotism, which was now liberating its serfs, and democratic America, which was taking increasingly repressive measures to defend slavery. He denounced those American Presbyterians who were keeping quiet when they should be speaking out against slavery, and declared further that: "No lasting peace nor true prosperity can be yours till the evil thing is put away. I believe that God will not continue to bless a nation which continues to maintain a system that is opposed to the religion of Christ and tramples in the dust its golden precept 'Do unto others as you would have others do unto you.'" After pointing out how slavery constituted a betrayal of the ideals and heritage of the Pilgrim Fathers, Dr. Guthrie ended: "But we cherish the hope/

hope that in the very confusion into which the subject of slavery has now plunged your country, we see the beginning of the end. We rejoice in the bold front, the onward movement, the increasing numbers, the growing power of the anti-slavery party. May God bless their banners and speed their cause until, dark skin and white, your whole nation hold a fast, even the fast that God hath chosen, the best evidence of a true religious revival, 'to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free.'⁽¹⁾"

The letter was published in a number of American papers; and Dr. Guthrie, although anticipating "a storm of abuse" from America, hoped that it would have some effect on American public opinion and "bring them to repentance and a sense of their duty".⁽²⁾ In view of Dr. Guthrie's reputation and connections in America, his letter must be considered as a factor in promoting the upsurge of anti-slavery feeling in America. The new leaders of the Free Church had now reversed the temporising policy of Chalmers and aligned themselves with the Abolitionist movement. Just as Chalmers' repudiation of the Abolitionists in the 1840's had provoked the fierce attacks of Garrison, Thompson, and Douglass, so the stand now taken by Candlish and Guthrie aroused violent opposition from anti-Abolitionist elements in America. In both cases we can observe the sensitivity of Americans to European opinions, and in particular, the importance/

(1) Liberator, loc.cit.

(2) Dr. Guthrie to the Duchess of Argyll, n.d.; his letter received the support of the Duchess of Argyll and the Duchess of Sutherland, both of whom were identified with the anti-slavery party.

importance which American Presbyterians attached to approval or rebuke from Scottish Church leaders.

In Scotland, support for Cheever continued to mount. The British Friend praised his efforts and denounced the hostile activities of the pro-slavery forces.⁽¹⁾ In Edinburgh, a public letter of sympathy was drawn up for the American pastor and signed by the Lord Provost, the Revs. Candlish, Guthrie, Begg, and other leading clerics and laymen. Copies of the letter were displayed in the leading bookstores of the city and collected a large number of signatures,⁽²⁾ and further church collections were taken up for his work.⁽³⁾ In response, Dr. Cheever issued a public letter thanking Drs. Candlish and Guthrie and the other ministers for their speeches at the Queen St. Hall, and paying tribute to the Ladies' Emancipation Society.⁽⁴⁾

After his successful meeting in Edinburgh, Dr. Cheever returned to America, but Scottish Protestants continued to work on his behalf. The Glasgow Examiner, in particular, espoused his cause, and for months almost every issue of this paper contained an article, editorial or letter on the case of the American minister. Early in February, the Examiner opened the campaign for Dr. Cheever in Glasgow, with an article praising his anti-slavery work and describing how the wealthy minority had seceded from his church leaving it with a heavy mortgage and other expenses.

- (1) British Friend, January 1860.
- (2) Scotsman, Jan. 5, 7, 20, 1860, etc.
- (3) Scotsman, 23rd January 1860.
- (4) Feb. 9.; Scotsman, 29th Feb. 1860.

The paper quoted Frederick Douglass' strong endorsement of Dr. Cheever and called on Glasgow to follow Edinburgh's example by calling a meeting⁽¹⁾ to express sympathy and raise funds for the minister.

A large mass meeting to demonstrate sympathy for Dr. Cheever was held in the Merchants' Hall in Glasgow on 19 March. As in Edinburgh, the Free Church joined the U.P. in supporting the American minister. The principal speakers were the Rev. Dr. Robert Buchanan (the leading Free Church divine in Glasgow)⁽²⁾ and the Rev. Dr. Robertson of the Free Church. Among the large number of other ministers who turned out for the occasion were Dr. Smyth of the Free Church, Dr. Robson and the Revs. Russel and Knox of the U.P. Church, and Reverend Batchelor, the Congregational Abolitionist leader, who also spoke. Baillie M'Dowell, leader of the Glasgow New Abolitionists, and W.P. Paton were also on the platform.

Dr. Buchanan asserted that: "Those Americans are the best and truest friends of their country who spare no arrows in this momentous subject; who will be neither bribed nor coerced into silence regarding it. I believe Dr. Cheever to be one of those intrepid and faithful men. I have read his book, God Against Slavery, and if the powerful and eloquent discourses which it contains be a specimen of his mode of handling this great subject, I can say nothing less than bid him Godspeed. They are full of thoughts that breathe and words that burn. He deserves the sympathy/

(1) Glasgow Examiner, 4 Feb. 1860.

(2) vid. N.L. Walker, Robert Buchanan, D.D., London, 1877.

sympathy of every lover of truth and freedom."

Dr. Robertson compared the work of Dr. Cheever with that of Paul and referred to the Apostle's sermon to the slaveholding Athenians. The Rev. Batchelor also spoke in very favourable terms of Dr. Cheever and contrasted his uncompromising stand with the more cautious and lukewarm approach of other Abolitionist ministers, including Rev. Beecher. (1) A committee was then established to raise money for Dr. Cheever.

The support which Dr. Cheever obtained from Scottish Protestant leaders and the popular sympathy which he evoked were answered by a campaign of persistent vilification directed against the American minister. Malicious accusations directed at Cheever by the pro-slavery press in America were repeated in letters to the Scottish press. The fact that there had been a temporary rift between Cheever and Ward Beecher, a more moderate opponent of slavery, gave a further opportunity to the detractors of the former. (2) The Anti-Slavery Reporter also joined in the attack on Cheever. (3) However, the American minister was stoutly defended by the Scottish clergy and his other supporters, and in particular the Glasgow Examiner. (4) His reputation emerged unscathed, and interest and sympathy were quickened.

During/

(1) NBDM, 20 March, 1860; Glasgow Examiner, 24 March.

(2) For the Beecher - Cheever split see Glasgow Examiner, April 1860, passim

(3) ASR, March 1860, p.63.

(4) Glasgow Examiner, 24, 31 March; 7, 14, 21 April; Cal.Mer., 27 April.

During 1859, there was a sharpening of the controversy between the Garrisonians and New wings of the Scottish Abolitionists. The strife came to a climax early in 1860, when Frederick Douglass made his second visit to Scotland.

Some months before the appearance of Douglass, the dormant conflict within the anti-slavery movement was stirred to life by another foreign Abolitionist, Dr. Adolphe Monod, a prominent Clergyman of Paris. Dr. Monod was the leading figure in the French Church, in which he played a role analogous to that of Dr. Chalmers in Scotland. He had come to prominence as an evangelical preacher and had been a leader in the great revival movement known as Le Réveil, which swept over France in the 1830's and '40's, winning thousands of converts to the Protestant faith and producing a "second spring" of Protestantism in France at a time during which the Huguenot body began to play a serious part in the national life of France for the first time since 1685.⁽¹⁾ This movement received considerable encouragement from the Free Kirk, and Dr. Monod had⁽²⁾ established contacts with a number of Scottish clerics. Like many of his/

-
- * In 1850,
- (1) see P. Spencer, Politics of Belief in Nineteenth Century France, London 1954, pp. 73-4, et passim. * As a result of this movement, the French Church held its first General Assembly since the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Protestantism played a highly important part in the French Radical movement and in its culmination, the Third Republic
- (2) R. Raimy and J. Mackenzie, The Life of William Cunningham, London, 1871, pp. 385-6.

his evangelical colleagues in Britain and America, he had also identified himself with the anti-slavery cause. However, in the ensuing years, he found himself faced with the same dilemma which had confronted Dr. Chalmers, in that it became necessary for him to seek financial support from American Christians. When the French pastor visited America in 1858, he drew heavy fire from the Garrisonian party for consorting with groups regarded as pro-slavery by the American Anti-Slavery Society.⁽¹⁾ The French pastor was attacked by Harriet Beecher Stowe, who accused him of adopting a compromising attitude towards slavery in order to ingratiate himself with influential Americans. The attack was duly taken up in Scotland by the pro-Garrison North British Daily Mail, which devoted a leader to denouncing Dr. Monod, and asserted that: "He has well learned the cant of the pro-slavery party - an odious amalgam of great religious zeal with great moral turpitude."⁽²⁾

In May 1859, Dr. Monod appeared in Edinburgh; it was the time of the General Assemblies, and he was evidently renewing his contacts with the Free Church. On 26 May he was the principal speaker at a rally of the New/

(1) Such as the American Tract Society - an organisation to which Garrisonians were particularly hostile. It should be noted that the epithet "pro-slavery" as used by Garrisonians did not always mean that the person or organisation so accused put forth arguments in favour of slavery; in some cases it merely denoted that the accused were "neutral" or opposed to immediate emancipation, or critical of the Abolitionist movement. The Abolitionists had established a rival to the hated American Tract Society in the form of the American Reform Tract and Book Society. Lib., 30 Dec. 1859.

(2) Article reprinted in the Liberator, 7 Jan. 1859.

New Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association held in the Queen St. Hall. Dr. Monod (who shared the platform with the Free Church minister, Dr. Thomson) described his visit to the Southern states and called upon all anti-slavery people to make renewed efforts toward freeing the slaves. ⁽¹⁾ The French pastor went on, however, to describe some of his slave-owning hosts as good Christians who were inadvertently entangled in the system, and he opposed the tenet of immediate abolition, urging that a period of preparation was needed before emancipation could come into effect. This part of the lecture met with considerable disfavour from a section of the audience consisting of Eliza Wigham and other members of the Emancipation Society, who subjected the visitor to some close questioning and later entered into a controversial, private correspondence with the French divine. On the matter of Harriet Beecher Stowe's rebuke, Dr. Monod declared that the American novelist had "mistranslated" him (evidently meaning "misconstrued" him). Eliza Wigham, following the meeting, wrote a letter to the French minister in which she criticised a number of his points. In reply, she received a letter which induced her to remark to Mrs. Beecher Stowe: "There is no use in entering into a correspondence with such a man, or we could have much to say to him." Miss Wigham and her associates also became convinced that Dr. Monod had been spreading a malicious rumour about Edinburgh to the effect that the American Anti-Slavery Society had never made a report concerning the use made of funds sent to them a few years previously by/

(1) Cal.Mer., 27 May, 1859.

(1)
by Parisian Abolitionists. Eliza Wigham's alacrity in defence of the
Garrisonian cause was praised by the American Garrisonian leader Samuel
May Jr. who wrote to her that: "It was an excellent thing that you called
him (Monod) to account on the spot, and something rash in him to venture
(2)
as far north as Edinburgh."

During this same year (1859), Abolitionists were discussing the
possibility of forming a National Anti-Slavery League which would combine
all of the Garrisonian societies in Great Britain. The idea originated in
American circles; Samuel May Jr. corresponded on the subject with Richard
(3)
Webb, a leading British Abolitionist, and suggested a number of people
for the proposed central committee, including the Patons, the Wighams, and
the Nichols. Webb agreed that there was a need for such an organisation,
(4)
but doubted whether it could be brought into being at that time. A
National Anti-Slavery League for all Britain had been organised in 1846
by George Thompson. However, certain of the leaders of this organisation:
(5)
"Did not highly appreciate George Thompson's labours in the cause," and, due
largely to the stresses of the "send back the money" campaign, the League
(6)
did not survive for very long. Several motives underlay this desire to
resuscitate/

-
- (1) E. Wigham - Saml. May Jr., 3 June 1859. Miss Wigham regretted that
"as I did not hear these remarks I could not reply to them."
- (2) Saml. May Jr. - E. Wigham, 30 June 1859.
- (3) Editor of the Anti-Slavery Advocate, the organ of the Garrisonian party
in London.
- (4) Saml. May Jr. - Webb, 20 Feb. 1859.
- (5) Ibid; this may refer to (among other things) the Send Back the Money
campaign.
- (6) ~~Anti-Slavery Advocate~~, 1859, ~~passim~~. See Shepperson, "The Free Church
and American Slavery",136-7.

resuscitate the League in 1859. For one thing, the Garrisonians continued to look with disfavour upon the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society; they abhorred its leisurely tactics, suspected its financial backers, and objected to its support for the "New Abolitionists" in the U.S.A. Then, too, the projected League might help the Garrisonians to regain the initiative from the rival "New" Abolitionist groups in Edinburgh and Glasgow, which were affiliated with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. It was also hoped that it might serve as an effective pressure group to induce Parliament to take stronger measures against the illegal American slave trade with Africa and other abuses, and would help to counteract the powerful anti-⁽¹⁾ Abolitionist influence of the Times. Finally, May hoped that: "If it did no other good it would make it needful for many persons to show their ⁽²⁾ colours".

Although the National Anti-Slavery League failed to come to life again, the Abolitionist movement was lifted out of the doldrums by the Harpers Ferry Rising and its aftermath. Among its many other repercussions, the Rising was indirectly the cause of Frederick Douglass' second visit to Scotland - a visit which was to have an important effect in shaping⁽³⁾ Scottish opinion concerning the American crisis. We have already noticed the deep impression which this negro leader made in Scotland during his previous visit there, and through his newspaper he continued to play a part in moulding Scottish opinion. We have also seen that the split in Scottish Abolitionism/

(1) Anti-Slavery Advocate, 1859 passim.

(2) Saml. May Jr. - Webb, 20 Feb. 1859.

(3) e.g., the Scotsman, in its discussion of the Fugitive Slave Bill, drew to a large extent from the North Star and praised Douglass as "a man of high character and great ability". (20 Nov. 1850)

Abolitionism followed hard upon Douglass' defection from the Garrisonian camp. The immediate cause of Douglass' tour of Scotland in 1860 was the wave of repression which swept over America following the Rising and which were directed chiefly against active Abolitionists. Douglass had been associated at one time or another with Captain Brown, and this fact naturally added to his attraction as a public speaker in Scotland.

Douglass arrived in Britain in November, 1859, for what he then ⁽¹⁾ believed might be a lifetime of exile. He arrived in Scotland at the end of January 1860 and spoke at a rally in Edinburgh on the 30th of that month. From the speeches which he made on this tour, three main themes emerge. In the first place he was concerned, as on his previous visit, to mobilise public opinion to give effective aid to American Abolitionism. Secondly, he opposed the Secession doctrine which he had preached in 1846-47 and urged political action within the framework of the American Constitution. Finally, in answer to public demand, he spent considerable time in explaining ⁽²⁾ the Harpers Ferry Rising and his own connection with it. His efforts were an emphatic success and were a chief contributing factor to the greatest upsurge of Abolitionist feeling in Scotland since West Indian Emancipation. Furthermore, as his biographer points out: "His anti-slavery addresses - - - were a factor in the pronounced anti-Confederate attitude of the English (i.e. British) masses/

(1) Quarles, *op.cit.*, 183.

(2) Quarles, *op.cit.*, 184.

(1)
masses during the Civil War."

In Scotland, the visit of Douglass re-opened and brought to a climax the struggle between two opposing schools of Abolitionism. Weeks before his arrival in Scotland, the conflict was being carried on in the form of letters to the Press. An American sympathiser of Douglass set forth the basic issue of the quarrel in a letter to the Caledonian Mercury: "Denunciations are safe, easy, and cheap things; consequently there is no lack of dealers in them everywhere. The want consists of discretion and honesty of purpose. Every intelligent citizen of the United States, denunciators not excepted, knows that there is ample provision made in the natural constitution and the federal compact for the proper and prompt emancipation of every slave in the Union, that there is no other legal mode, and that one half of the original slave-holding states have in this truly humane and just way and manner already liberated their slaves."

The writer accused the Garrisonians of putting up a sterile and negative opposition to slavery and of hampering the work of Abolition by drawing off support from there with a positive programme of action. He concluded by rejoicing in the advance of the political anti-slavery movement and predicted the election of an anti-slavery President in America
(2)
in November 1860.

This letter brought an equally strong response from a British Abolitionist, Richard Thurrow, who was an honorary member of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. He pointed to the martyrdom of Lovejoy, and/

(1) Ibid, VIII.

(2) Cal.Mer., 10 Dec. 1859.

and the suffering inflicted upon other Garrisonians as proof that their attitude was not inspired by cowardice and pointed to their effectiveness of moral suasion as applied by Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson and others, in bringing about West Indian emancipation. He argued further that the dissolution of the Union, as advocated by Garrison, would lead inevitably to the end of slavery, mentioned the work of the underground railway in undermining slavery and observed that: "Frederick Douglass advocated immediate emancipation when he bolted northward." Thurrow exhibited the typical aggressive extremism of the Garrisonians when he declared, a propos of his opponent's letter, that: "I have not read anything lately, not even the New Orleans Picayune,⁽¹⁾ more thoroughly pro-slavery." In a subsequent letter, Thurrow denounced⁽²⁾ that the Republican Party for scheming "to carry slaughter to the fireside."

At the same time, the Scottish press was reflecting the intensified interest in American developments, which were becoming increasingly ominous. President Buchanan's annual message to Congress was roundly denounced by the Liberal papers. The Morning Journal described the speech as pro-slavery, eulogised John Brown, and predicted that Buchanan's complacency over the suppression of the Rising would turn out to be over-optimistic.⁽³⁾ The North British Daily Mail attacked the President in similar terms and maintained that the American Government would be unable to prevent further Abolitionist efforts to liberate the slaves. The Mail also believed that Southern threats of secession were merely bluff and that secession would lead to/

(1) Cal. Mer. 16 Dec. 1859.

(2) Ibid, 17 Dec. 1859.

(3) Morning Journal, 10 Jan. 1860.

to mass escapes on the part of the slaves which would lead to the ultimate
(1)
disintegration of slavery.

A further result of the Harpers Ferry Rising had been to intensify British awareness of the precariousness of their cotton supply and to stimulate the demand for opening up alternate sources. The matter should be outlined here since it was a major factor in the background of the Douglass - Thompson dispute. Scottish newspapers and magazines were full
(2)
of articles and letters on this problem. Most writers agreed that it was urgently necessary to open up new sources, but the general belief in laissez faire precluded any wide-spread direct intervention by the Government; and most investors were reluctant to risk money in long-term development schemes in other lands as long as a plentiful supply of high-grade cotton continued to arrive every year from America. An alert minority, however, represented by the Cotton Supply Association (with headquarters in Manchester), was busy investigating in various quarters and agitating for capitalist investment in various potential cotton-growing
(3)
areas and for government assistance in opening up new fields. The Government had already begun to cooperate to some extent with these schemes; crown lands had been leased on a small scale and at low rentals to cotton planters in Ceylon, Jamaica, and Queenstown Australia. However, serious obstacles/

(1) N.B.D.M., 12 Jan. 1860.

(2) e.g. British Friend, Nov. and Dec., 1859; "An Open Letter to American Planters, by a Friend to Freedom", NBDM, 4 Jan. 1860; also NBDM, Glasgow Examiner, Scotsman, et.al., 1860, passim; Liberator, 1860, passim; for a criticism of these schemes from the pro-slavery camp, see article from the New York Herald (reprinted in the Glasgow Examiner, 7 April 1860) and Am. Anti-Sl. Soc. Report, 1859-60, pp.305-6.

(3) See I. Watts, The Cotton Supply Association; its Origins and Progress, Manchester, 1871.

obstacles, in particular the shortage of labour, stood in the way of rapid expansion of cotton growing in the "white" colonies. At the same time, (i.e. about 1860) manufacturing circles abandoned their former high hopes of developing India as major alternative source of cotton. (1) Interest had therefore begun to focus more and more on Africa, which Livingstone's reports suggested to be a most promising source of the vital raw material. (2) Livingstone saw the development of cotton-growing as the means to revolutionise the wretched conditions of the African natives. He believed that it would bring an end to the slave traffic and intertribal warfare, raise the African's standard of living and civilisation and, by strengthening them politically, enable them to resist Boer aggression. The Abolitionists had (3) campaigned for years for the development of cotton cultivation in India, and Livingstone's work inspired them to advertise Africa's potentialities, as a means of solving the problems of the natives of the Dark Continent as well as those of the American slave. On 22 October 1859, the London Emancipation Society, under the chairmanship of George Thompson, formed the African/

(1) See F. Owsley, King Cotton Diplomacy, Chicago, 1931, 2-6.

(2) D. Livingstone, Missionary Travels in South Africa, London, 1857, pp. 71, 271, 314, 644-45, 675. See also Livingstone's letters to Edmund Gabriel (British Arbitrator for the suppression of the slave trade), Brit. Mus. Collection, 47410; also Livingstone's despatches quoted by Lord Brougham, Hansard, s.3, v.156, pp. 206 et seq; J. Stewart, The Zambesi Journal of James Stewart, London, 1952, (Central African Archives, Oppenheimer Series, No.VL).

(3) John Bright continued up to the outbreak of the Civil War to agitate for the development of Indian cotton (The Diaries of John Bright, ed. R.A.J. Walling, London, 1930, 252-53), and George Thompson had been on a mission to India (financed by British merchants) just prior to the time under discussion (Saml. May Jr. - Richard Webb, 20 Feb.1859, Garrison Papers).

African Civilisation Society which aimed to promote the cultivation of free labour cotton and other produce in Africa, and to establish a line of free settlements along the West African coast to break up the slave trade.⁽¹⁾

An article in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine illustrates very succinctly the combination of philanthropy and enlightened self-interest which were blended in the contemporary liberal attitude toward the question of free labour cotton: "We can do something more than contemplate the struggle, something more than wish it Godspeed and extend to the oppressed our generous and genuine sympathy. In our enterprise with other contries the great end can be kept in view - our capital can be employed to weaken the weapons of oppression and strengthen the cause of right. Thus we hasten the breaking of the chains of the slave - - - To Africa we turn with a new interest and a deeper sympathy. A glorious prospect lies before us there - a destiny that involves the highest concerns of humanity."

The article went on to argue on the basis of Livingstone's rescarches that, if African cotton were developed with British capital, the position of the American slaveholder could be undermined, and great profits could be made in the bargain. After quoting at length from Livingstone's reports of cotton cultivation practised by the natives, the article pointed to the precariousness of the American cotton supply disclosed by the Harpers Ferry Rising, and the general worsening of the political situation in America; and the author repeated John Brown's ominous prophecy: "You had better/

(1) Liberator, 16 Dec. 1859.

better, all of you people of the South, prepare yourselves for a settlement of that question which must come up for settlement sooner than you are aware of. The sooner you are prepared the better - - -".⁽¹⁾

On 27 January 1860, the issue was brought before the House of Lords by Lord Brougham, who also argued fervently for efforts by capitalists and the Government to develop African cotton. After quoting extensively from Livingstone's latest despatches, Brougham declared: "Upon the highlands of that country (East Africa) cotton to any amount and of the best quality might with a slight encouragement be raised. He was told that a capital of £20,000, judiciously directed there, would be sufficient to secure this very great advantage; and he did hope that, if it were inexpedient for the Government to interfere in the matter, his wealthy as well as worthy friends in Manchester and Liverpool would lend a hand to promote that in which they had so great an interest and would help raise the money." Brougham proceeded to denounce the wave of oppression which was sweeping the Southern states, and in particular the systematic elimination of the free negro class in the slave states, who were being driven from their homes in the South or sold into slavery. He was firmly seconded by Earl Grey who attacked America for secretly encouraging the revival of the African slave trade.⁽²⁾

Three days after this debate in the house of Lords, Frederick Douglass made his first public appearance in Scotland, at an Abolitionist rally in the Queen Street Hall in Edinburgh. Duncan M'Laren acted as chairman, and flanking/

(1) Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, XXVII, 273-276. This article contains an interesting quotation from Livingstone, illustrating the part assigned to the Scottish lower classes by the nineteenth century Empire builders: "I wish that we had a hundred good industrious Scotch families in these fertile/ contd. next page.



flanking Douglass on the platform were a number of Free Church, U.P., and Independent ministers; Councillors Ford and Fyfe, prominent Radical politicians; and leaders of the Edinburgh branch of the "New" anti-slavery party, including J. Ewing Glasgow, a negro university student from America, (1) Duncan M'Laren introduced Douglass as a living refutation of the falsehood that negroes were intellectually inferior to whites. The great negro orator, now at the height of his powers, made a powerful impression upon his audience and was frequently interrupted by prolonged outbursts of applause. After describing how the issue in America was becoming sharper between slavery and freedom, he expressed his belief in a Republican victory in the coming presidential election. He described the various reforms which would probably be effected under a Republican administration, such as abolition in the district of Columbia, the end of racial discrimination in government employment and of the post office censorship of Abolitionist literature. He took care, however, to point out that a Republican victory would not entail immediate emancipation. He described the progress of the anti-slavery movement, which he now identified with the Republican party, since his visit in 1846. Douglass' speech also emphasised his cordial relations/

F.N.1 contd. from previous page: fertile highlands. Instead of as at home toiling for a bare subsistence, here they might cultivate sugar or cotton, and benefit the natives by their example and furnish materials for our manufacture at home."

F.N.2 from previous page: Hansard, s.3, v.156, pp.206-214.

(1) He also wrote a pamphlet on John Brown (The Harper's Ferry Rising, J. Ewing Glasgow, Edinburgh. 1860); a copy is in the Smeal Collection. He died of tuberculosis not long afterwards.

relations with the Free Church, an attitude in marked contrast to the turbulent days of 1846. He expressed gratitude for the support given to the anti-slavery cause by Drs. Candlish and Guthrie, and praised the manner in which the Free Church had rallied behind Dr. Cheever. (1)

The subject of the Harper's Ferry Rising occupied considerable part of Douglass' address. John Brown had bequeathed to the Abolitionist movement a moral dilemma which was to re-assert itself in intensified form a year later with the outbreak of the Southern Rebellion. The Garrisonians party had on pacifist grounds consistently rejected a violent solution to the slavery question, and the New Abolitionists and Republicans were committed to work along strictly constitutional lines. However, neither party could bring themselves to deny the insurgent leader, whose Calvinist thirst for righteousness was shared by the whole anti-slavery movement, and whose firm testimony in the shadows of the gallows had rallied many thousands to the cause. (The pages of the Liberator and other anti-slavery publications in the months following the Rising reflect the attempts of the Abolitionists to work out a consistent attitude on the question.) This was particularly true in Scotland, where the travail of the Church during and after the Disruption had received interest in and admiration of the seventeenth century martyrs, so that Brown appeared to many as the spiritual descendant of those who fought against oppression at Bothwell Brig and Hutton Green. Some Abolitionists came out openly in favour of rebellion against/

(1) The Free Church was represented on the platform by the Rev. Swan of Edinburgh.

against slavery; among these was the American, James Redpath, who turned out the first biography of John Brown, thus beating to the press Mrs. Childs, who was writing a Life of Brown from an orthodox Garrisonian point of view. (1) Eliza Wigham, who had described Brown as "noble but mistaken", felt compelled by the widespread public interest, to order three copies of Redpath's work from Samuel May Jr., in Massachusetts. Although objecting to Redpath's support of physical force, she concluded that it would be counter-balanced by the account of Brown's heroic dedication to the anti-slavery cause. (2) Most Abolitionists, deploring the violence involved at Harper's Ferry, came to accept the theory that Brown had not intended to incite a general slave insurrection in the South, but rather hoped to evacuate Harper's Ferry and establish a base in the mountains of Virginia, from whence he could facilitate a series of mass escapes on the part of the Southern slaves. (3) Douglass

Douglass/

(1) E. Wigham - Saml. May Jr., 22 Dec. 1859.

(2) E. Wigham - Saml. May Jr., 6 Jan. 1860.

(3) Garrison maintained this view in the Liberator and in his speeches during this period; e.g. on 18 Nov. 1859, he wrote in the Liberator that Brown did not start a Civil War, but that civil war had already been going on since 1850, when the Fugitive Slave and Kansas - Nebraska Acts had nullified the Constitution. At the memorial meeting for Brown, he reaffirmed his belief in non-resistance, but declared that Abolitionist violence was, compared with the continual violence of the slaveholders, the lesser of two evils (Liberator, 16 Dec. 1859). James Redpath wrote a letter challenging the Liberator's view that Brown aimed only to facilitate mass escapes from the South, and declared that Brown intended to enforce Abolition from Virginia down to the Gulf of Mexico (Liberator, 20 Jan. 1860).

Douglass held more or less to this theory and maintained that Brown's action was of a defensive rather than an aggressive nature, for "Slavery was a standing insurrection from beginning to end; John Brown was not mad -- he was not even wicked -- he was a noble, heroic Christian martyr, animated by a desire to do unto others as he should himself be done to." The outburst of cheering from the crowded hall indicated that Douglass' arguments in defence of Brown had struck home. Even the Tory Courant was constrained to praise Douglass for his "noble and inspiring address".⁽¹⁾ Yet, although Douglass carefully refrained from making any adverse references to the Garrison party, his speech was not received with approval by his former comrades in the Edinburgh Emancipation Society, who failed to share his enthusiasm for the Republican Party and its moderate and constitutional course of action. In a letter to America, a few days after the Douglass meeting, Eliza Wigham, in commenting on the recent advance of the anti-slavery movement in the United States, declared: "As for expecting any action from the Republicans, that is quite a different matter. Judging from their own professions we have not much to hope from them. We have had F. Douglass amongst us here. He has never said anything hostile to the American Anti-Slavery Society but he has omitted mentioning the credit due to them for/

(1) Scotsman and Courant, 31 Jan. 1860.

for any progress that may be seen in politics or otherwise. He says far too much of the Republicans and gives quite an unfair impression of them."⁽¹⁾

The next stage in the controversy was marked by the editorial intervention of the Times. For some time the Thunderer had been the bane of the Abolitionists,⁽²⁾ and its stand at this juncture was consistent with its general attitude to the problems of slavery and cotton.⁽³⁾ Pointing out that British commercial prosperity depended on the well-being of the cotton industry, the Times warned against endangering the supply of raw cotton. It denounced Lord Brougham and the Abolitionist movement for attempting to disturb the British economy. "If a black man happened to have broken his shin, and a white man were in danger of drowning, we very much fear that a real Anti-slavery Zealot would bind up the black man's leg before he would pull the white man out of the water. ... We, and such as we, see - - - only the free and intelligent English families who thrive upon the wages which these cotton bales produce. Lord Brougham/

(1) E. Wigham - Saml. May Jr., 10 Feb. 1860.

(2) vid. Anti-slavery Advocate, 1859, passim.

(3) Consistent also with its conduct during the Civil War. The History of the Times does not give any satisfactory analysis of the motives behind this policy. See History of the Times, vol. II, London, 1939, pp. 359-91.

Brougham sees only the black labourers who, on the other side of the Atlantic, pick the cotton pods in slavery." The Times demanded that, since Britain would for many years be chiefly dependent on American cotton, Lord Brougham and the Abolition-⁽¹⁾ists should cease their present agitation.

The liberal and Protestant press in Scotland was quick to take up this challenge. The N.B. Daily Mail described the Times' argument as "a species of cant" which was used against suggestions for any sort of reform. "We see nothing to condemn in Lord Brougham or Lord Grey's speech on our cotton supply in connection with American slavery. It is the duty of every man of position and influence to speak out whenever an opportunity occurs. Why should any man beyond the reach of their bowie knives and tar-buckets respect American prejudices on the subject of slavery? - - The cotton trade, it is true, is of great importance to us as a people; but we are not simple enough to suppose that the American planters will refuse our custom because we have not studied their tempers or flattered their vices. The people who buy and sell their fellow creatures for profit will continue to sell their cotton in the best market they can find. We do not imagine that the cotton growers of America are quite so thin-skinned as the Times imagines". The Mail concluded by reiterating Brougham's plea for/

(1) Times, 30 Jan. 1860.

for the development of African and Indian cotton, both in order to undermine slavery and also to avoid economic collapse in case of war with America, which the Mail feared might result from America's recent aggressive policy in the Caribbean and elsewhere. ⁽¹⁾ The Glasgow Examiner described "slaveholders' Christianity" in terms of biting irony, describing the power of the "almighty dollar" to cast a respectable cloak over American slavery. "If it be strange that professing Christians in America should still cling to this unjust and inhuman system, it is even more strange that it should have so many apologists on this side of the Atlantic. But business statistics, increased cotton importations and such like have a considerable influence in modifying views of what ought to be considered Christian principle." ⁽²⁾ The Examiner subsequently accused the Times of openly encouraging the wave of wild speculation in raw cotton which was in progress at the time and was lining the pockets of the cotton brokers. The Examiner pointed out that, due to the glut which was developing in the cotton supply

(1) NBDM, 2 Feb., 1860.

(2) Glasgow Examiner, 4 Feb. 1860.

(1)
supply, many small investors would shortly be ruined.

Meanwhile, Douglass proceeded to Glasgow, where he was received by an enthusiastic crowd at the City ^{Hall} Hall. He was joined on the platform by a dozen U.P. and Independent ministers, as well as by the leading New Abolitionists of Glasgow, but, as in Edinburgh, his old co-workers in the Emancipation Society refused to associate themselves with him. The only surviving leader of the "Send back the money" campaign who supported him was the Reverend William Anderson, who, although unable to be present in person, sent a letter expressing his support. The Emancipation Society leaders refused to acknowledge Douglass because of his alleged complicity in the Harper's Ferry Rising. In his speech, Douglass reproached his old comrades for slighting him and met the moral dilemma presented by the Rising by refusing to state whether or not he had been involved, asserting that it was up to his accusers to prove his complicity. Basing his argument on Wesley's description of slavery as "the sum of all villainies", Douglass argued that the insurgents had not brought violence into/

(1) Ibid, 14 April 1860. Owsley (op.cit., 146-8) gives a description of this cotton glut, which was to play an important part in confounding the King Cotton Diplomacy of the Confederates. See also the attack on the Times by the liberal Morning Journal (Glasgow), 10 Jan. 1860.

into a peaceful community, but had collided with an insurrectionary community of slaveholders who were permanently in arms against the liberties of the slaves; and there could be no genuine peace "between the man who was on his back on the ground and the man who stood on his neck with his heel". He pointed out that the slaves had submitted to oppression for generations without resistance, which fact was now used as an argument for perpetuating slavery and drew the conclusion that under these conditions "forbearance should cease to be a virtue". He predicted that the day of emancipation was approaching and, although not asking his listeners to support a policy of forcible liberation, he called on them to agree "that a man who had been unjustly deprived of his liberty ought to get it back - peaceably if he can, forcibly if he must". The appeal was greeted by an outburst of applause, which was renewed when he attacked the assumption that John Brown's mission had been a failure and maintained that it had planted an idea in the minds of the slaves which would eventually lead to the end of slavery. The Reverend Edmond, a U.P. minister, proposed a resolution supporting Douglass "in his efforts to obtain the freedom of his enslaved brethren in the United States". It was seconded and supported by other U.P. ministers and carried by acclamation.⁽¹⁾

(1) NBDM, 1 Feb. 1860.

The Examiner gives an interesting description of Douglass as he was seen by his audience on this occasion. "He appeared to us to be spare and careworn, as compared with his personal appearance, so far as we can remember it, fourteen years ago. And it is not to be wondered at as these fourteen years have been to him years of much trial, labour and anxiety. But there is still the same deep-toned powerful voice, the same eloquence and power of expression, the same unmitigated hatred of that system of oppression and resolute determination to persevere in exposing its wickedness and the same unwavering belief that the day of jubilee for the slave is approaching. There is, however, a considerably subdued manner and tone, which may be accounted for by the subduing and mellowing hand of time - - He did not dwell upon his own personal wrongs, but viewed the subject chiefly on general grounds, many of his sentiments being remarkable, alike for their truth and wisdom as for their language and style in which they were expressed - - - The speech was listened to with great attention as it deserved to be." ⁽¹⁾ The Examiner also agreed with Douglass' defence of John Brown against the criticism of the Emancipation Society. "That movement may have been ill-judged, but such episodes have occurred in all great causes/

(1) Glasgow Examiner, 4 Feb. 1860.

causes when the oppressor was strong and the oppressed weak. They are, however, seldom without good fruits -- and this Harper's Ferry insurrection -- will further the emancipation process another stage. The blood of old Brown may to some extent satisfy the enslavers' desire for revenge but it will not make his cause better, it will make it worse. It will make it more hateful to every man who recognises the Christian right of freedom to all men." (1)

A fortnight later Douglass spoke at another gathering in the Rev. William Anderson's church in John St. under the chairmanship of the Rev. Henry Batchelor, an Independent minister active in the Abolitionist movement. Dr. Anderson was also on the platform, together with other U.P. and Free Church ministers. Douglass' speech on this occasion contained a strong note of urgency, reflecting his desire to make his audience aware of the significance of recent American developments. He described the current reign of terror in the South and the religious and political persecution conducted by the pro-slavery forces. After an extensive resume of American history, he described the present conflict as one between the free culture brought over on the Mayflower, and the slave culture introduced by the slave traders into the Southern colonies. After a further defence of John Brown, Douglass/

(1) Glasgow Examiner, 4 Feb. 1860.

Douglass asserted that the "Democratic" Party aimed ultimately to reopen the slave trade, enslave the free negroes, suppress civil liberties throughout the country, and reduce the Church to a condition of servitude; he went on to describe the Republicans as the party dedicated to thwarting these aims and emphasised that this movement brought a new hope for ending the domination of the slave holders. He then proceeded to analyse the other sections of the anti-slavery party - such as the free produce movement which boycotted the products of slave labour, and the group under Elihu Burritt which aimed to build up a fund to be used to buy freedom for the slaves. He held that all these elements were aiming in the right direction, but could not bring about emancipation on their own. He went on to criticise the Garfisonian party, declaring that their plan to dissolve the Union and separate the slave states from the free was now being increasingly advocated by the extreme exponents of slavery as the only means of defending their system against the rise of the Republican movement. Douglass expressed emphatic disagreement with this doctrine and declared that he "would rather draw the cords of Union more closely and bring the powerful and positive influence of the Northern states to bear on the slavery in the Southern states." (1)

(1) NBDM, 15 Feb. 1860.

Douglass' analysis of the anti-slavery forces drew an immediate response from the Garrison sympathisers. The N.B. Daily Mail, although praising Douglass' speech, dissented from the policy advocated. Arguing that Garrison's policy of secession offered the best chance of ending slavery, the Mail maintained that, since the new constitution of the North would inevitably protect the rights of the negro, it would encourage mass escapes from the South - a process which would in time destroy the slave system. The paper, however, agreed with Douglass that it was the duty of the British people to give active support to the Abolitionists in America, rather than adopt a neutral attitude as advocated by the Times.⁽¹⁾

The Garrisonians now prepared to reply to "Douglass and Co." by bringing into the field his old colleague, George Thompson. The great Radical orator had been passing through a period of misfortune at about this time. While in India, his health had broken down and he had returned home nearly destitute, the British merchants who employed him having (according to his statement) failed to pay him £90 due to him. The Rev. S.G. May, upon returning to America in 1859 from his tour/

(1) Ibid, 16 Feb. This mild comment on the part of the Mail did not reflect the hostile feeling toward Douglass which lingered on in Garrisonian circles; e.g. see Saml. May Jr. - Webb, 20 Feb. 1859 (microfilm, Garrison Papers), where Douglass is described as "a man who had so villainously and meanly lied about us, in order to gratify a personal spite and turn money into his own coffer."

tour of Britain, described Thompson as: "Very much altered, walking about a little but still quite helpless as to his hands and also mentioned his poverty. Although Thompson was noted in Abolitionist circles for "Improvvidence" and "carelessness with money", the news of his condition evoked a sympathetic response from American Abolitionists, who remembered that Thompson was to a large extent responsible for the successful launching of the American movement a generation before. Garrison and other Abolitionists raised a purse to tide him (1) over his period of misfortune.

Now Thompson appeared to defend the Garrisonian cause in Scotland, where he proceeded to undertake an energetic speaking (2) tour. Although he spoke in a number of Scottish towns, his controversy with Douglass was confined mainly to Glasgow, where Douglass had initiated the contest by criticising Garrison's policy. The Glasgow Emancipation Society had been closely associated with George Thompson as far back as 1834, when it despatched him on his memorable mission to America. The anti-slavery schism in Scotland had affected the once-powerful Glasgow group more seriously than its sister body in Edinburgh. We have seen how the work of the Glasgow Society was curtailed during the 1850's as a result of the depletion of/

(1) Saml. May Jr. - Webb, 20 Feb. and 12 April, 1859.

(2) For his complete itinerary, see the Anti-Slavery Reporter, (henceforth ASR), 3rd ser., VIII, 97-98.

of its membership and finances, and Edinburgh had replaced Glasgow as the centre of Scottish Garrisonianism. (1) The success of Douglass' meetings now inspired the Glasgow Society to attempt to regain the initiative from the New Abolitionists. The N.B. Daily Mail threw itself behind this effort by giving (2) strong support and publicity to Thompson.

Thompson's first speech was delivered to a large audience at the Glasgow City Hall on 27 February. With him on the platform were William Smeal, three town councillors, several U.P. ministers, and the Rev. Blyth, a representative of the Free Church who had also been on the platform at the Douglass meeting. (3) Choosing as his topic "The Constitution and Union of the United States" Thompson criticised and analysed the sections of the Constitution which formed the legal basis of slavery. Much of the Douglass-Thompson controversy revolved round the question of whether the Constitutional term "person in service" meant "slave", Thompson holding that the/

(1) This is illustrated by the fact that in 1859 the Glasgow group contributed £35 to the American Anti-Slavery Society whereas the Edinburgh Society was able to raise £52.10s for the same purpose.

(2) NBDM, 18 and 27 Feb. 1860. The former article quoted Lord Brougham's comment that Thompson was "the most eloquent speaker he had ever heard, either in or out of Parliament."

(3) Several U.P. ministers and local notables were also on the platform with both speakers.

the two terms were, in effect, synonymous. Thompson also went closely over the debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, quoting at length from Madison's speech urging his constituents to support the Constitution since the clauses in question would safeguard their possession of slaves. The speaker also referred to John Quincy Adams' pronouncement that the safeguarding of slavery was "the vital principle of the Constitution". Thompson asserted that the Constitution was the legal basis of the Fugitive Slave Law and for the hanging of John Brown, and that it would also justify the arrest of Douglass, should he return to America. ⁽¹⁾

Two days later, Thompson spoke on "American Slavery" at the U.P. Abbey Close Church, Paisley. He was accompanied by the minister, the Rev. Henderson, by the provost of Paisley, and by such local notables as Thomas Coats of Ferguslie and John Brown of Thrusheraig. Thompson attacked the evils of slavery in America and the professing Christians and Republicans who tolerated the system. He told his audience that they must give active support to the forces of liberty which were finally beginning to advance in America, where more people were becoming aware of the evil of slavery. Entering upon his main theme, Thompson declared: "The man to first sound the alarm/

(1) NBDM, 29 Feb. 1860; Glasgow Herald, 29 Feb; Thompson also pointed out that Douglass had attacked the Constitution and the Union during his visit to Scotland in 1846.

alarm and rend the veil was William Lloyd Garrison -- How magnificently has the poor printer redeemed the pledge which he gave a generation ago when he said: 'I have taken my ground; I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard.' What are all the eloquent speeches that have been delivered in Congress and out of it -- all the treatises, sermons, novels, tracts, and newspapers that have been scattered broadcast over sixteen states of the Union? What are they but echoes of that one honest voice reverberating through the land? He has indeed been heard.⁽¹⁾ After describing the corrupting influence of slavery on American life, the disruption of slave families,^{and} the poverty of the poor whites in the South, Thompson recounted his personal experiences of the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law and of the violence directed against him even in Boston when he went there on an anti-slavery mission in 1850. In conclusion he declared that Christianity must be disentangled from slavery, Liberty freed from "false Republicans", and Labour restored to a position of freedom and dignity -- the latter being a theme which he was to enlarge/

(1) ASR, 3rd ser. VIII, 129.

(1)
enlarge upon during the Civil War years.

Thompson then moved on to the nearby towns. On 5 March he spoke in the U.P. Church in Port Glasgow at a meeting under the chairmanship of the provost, and the following day at the U.P. Church in Greenock. Anti-slavery resolutions were passed at both gatherings. (2) On March 8 he was back at Glasgow speaking on "The Moral and Religious Aspects of Slavery" at Dr. Anderson's Church on John St. (3) He then headed south over the border on the trail of Douglass, who had scored a great success at a large meeting in Newcastle on 23 February. (4) During the absence of the two contestants, public interest in the slavery question was kept up by the Rev. William Day who held a public meeting in Dr. Smyth's church (U.P.) in support of his work for the fugitive slaves in Canada. (5)

Toward the end of March, Douglass was back in the west of Scotland/

(1) Ibid, 127-132..

(2) ASR, 97; Liberator, 30 March 1860.

(3) ASR, Ibid, 124-27.

(4) Like Thompson's other meetings it was given considerable publicity by the NBDM (March 8 and 9); on 2 March it reprinted an article from the N.Y. Tribune, denying that the Republicans were Abolitionist.

(5) NBDM, 14 March 1860.

Scotland where he addressed a rally at the King St. U.P. Church in Kilmarnock. ⁽¹⁾ Four days later Thompson appeared in Edinburgh where he spoke to a cheering crowd which filled the Queen St. Hall. Duncan M'Laren and several ministers and councillors were on the platform. Thompson refrained, as Douglass had done when he spoke in Edinburgh, from emphasising the differences which separated the Abolitionist schools. He discussed the economic ties between Britain and the South and called upon the commercial class to look for their cotton supply from other sources. He declared that, to the long-standing moral considerations in favour of such a course, there was now added the probability of a slave insurrection which would cut off the American supply of cotton. He also commended the clergy for their strong support of the anti-slavery movement, which contrasted with the hostility he had encountered from certain clerical circles fourteen years before. He described the slavery question as more hopeful than it had been then and predicted an imminent crisis. ⁽²⁾

On the same evening Douglass was speaking to a crowd in Glasgow/

(1) Ibid, 15 March; the meeting was on 22 March.

(2) Scotsman, 27 March 1860.

Glasgow on the subject: "The Constitution of the United States; Is it pro- or anti-slavery?" Bailie M'Dowall, leader of the Glasgow New Abolitionists, was in the chair, and Douglass was joined on the platform by two leading U.P. divines, the Rev. Drs. Taylor and Robson, as well as by Rev. Batchelor and other Abolitionists (M. Robert and John Smith⁽¹⁾, etc.). He spoke of the great interest over the slavery question which had been growing up in Glasgow and expressed his belief that anti-slavery feeling in Scotland had not been so strong since the campaign for West Indian emancipation. He declared his support for the movement to aid Dr. Cheever and also for the plans to develop free cotton in Africa - "I accept and hail them as sign of the 'good time coming'."

Turning to the Abolitionist controversy, Douglass referred to Thompson's speech in Glasgow on 28 February. He praised Thompson for his eloquence and for bringing one aspect of the anti-slavery conflict to the attention of Glasgow sympathisers and affirmed that the N.B. Daily Mail, although somewhat critical, had given him a "pretty fair report".⁽²⁾ However, he felt that it was now necessary for him to reply to the criticism put forward by Thompson and the Mail.

"I/

(1) Editor of the Glasgow Examiner.

(2) It is true that the NBDM gave advance publicity and good coverage to Douglass as well as to Thompson.

"I stand before you under the fire of both platform and press and must fight, fall, or retreat - - My assailant gave - - under an advertisement to give an anti-slavery lecture - - an elaborately and carefully prepared anti-Douglass lecture. He seemed to feel that to discredit me was an important work and there came up to that work with all his wanted power and eloquence proving himself to be about as perfect in all the arts, high and low, of the mere debater - - I award to the eloquent lecturer - - all praise for his skill and ability and fully acknowledge his many and valuable services in other days to the anti-slavery cause, both in England⁽¹⁾ and America - - He then enjoyed the confidence of illustrious men - the Wardlaws, the Heughs, the Kings, and the Robsons and others stood at his back." Douglass went on to say that at that time Thompson had been working for the Abolitionist cause and not for "a mere party or sect of reformers whose dangerous and mischievous doctrines he undertakes now to defend before the British public."

Douglass was careful to affirm his belief that some of the Garrisonians were working earnestly for emancipation although displaying an excessive amount of dogmatic sectarianism. He characterised Thompson, as "perhaps the least vindictive/

(1) i.e., Britain.

vindictive of his party; yet I cannot praise his speech, for it was needlessly personal, calling me by name nearly fifty times in the course of the evening. In character and manliness that speech was not only deficient but most shamelessly one-sided." Douglass accused Thompson of taking advantage of people's lack of precise knowledge of the American situation and also of exploiting the fact that popular anti-slavery feeling sometimes became identified with unthinking hostility toward America.

"I do not hesitate," Douglass went on, "to pronounce that speech false in statement, false in assumptions, false in its inferences, false in its quotations, false in its arguments, and false in all its leading conclusions -- the whole speech was calculated to convey impressions and ideas totally, grossly and outrageously at variance with the truth concerning the Constitution of the United States."

Taking up the specific Constitutional issues raised by Thompson, Douglass asserted that it was misleading to quote Madison's speeches and the Convention debates as though they were part of the Constitution -- and that in any case they were now irrelevant for at that time slavery was expected to die out. Douglass drew the attention of the audience to the Constitutional provision for the abolition of the slave trade and/

and pointed to the liberal philosophy contained in the Bill of Rights and the Preamble. He went on to show that Thompson's interpretation of the so-called "Fugitive slave provisions" agreed, in effect, with the interpretation of the slave holders. A number of clauses in the Bill of Rights, Douglass argued, could be used by an anti-slavery government as the basis for legislation to abolish slavery. He admitted that injustices could be supported by quoting the Constitution, but they could also be defended by quoting the Scriptures, and yet no Abolitionists advocated doing away with the Bible. Douglass maintained that Thompson, to be consistent, should also attack the British Constitution, which provided for a monarchy and an established Church, both of which were opposed by the English Radical. Attacking the advocacy of secession, Douglass pointed out that this was the policy of the slave holders now that the anti-slavery forces were about to come into political power. He admitted that he had attacked the Constitution and the Union while in Scotland in 1846, and declared that there was nothing wrong with revising his opinions, especially since conditions had altered over the years and political action along constitutional lines was now bearing fruit. The balance of power in America was passing to the free states and the anti-slavery forces, and this major/

major development would bring about the abolition of slavery.

"My argument," Douglass asserted, "against the dissolution of the Union is this: - it would place the slave system more exclusively under the control of the slaveholding states and withdraw it from the power of the Northern states - - - (Slavery's) hope of life in the last resource is to get out of the Union. I am therefore for drawing the bond of Union more closely and bringing the slave states more closely under the power of the free states. What they most dread, that I most desire. - - The Constitution will afford slavery no protection, when it shall cease to be administered by slave holders." Dr. Robson, in moving a vote of thanks, expressed his opinion that Douglass had definitely established the anti-slavery (1) implications of the American Constitution.

Although Douglass' Speech convinced his audience, it provoked an adverse response in several other quarters. Tory resentment at the successful meetings run by Radicals and evangelicals and the fear prevalent in capitalist circles over the possible curtailment of the American cotton supply were expressed in an angry leader in the Glasgow Herald. The Herald denounced the "agitators" as fanatics who were actually harming the welfare of the slaves by playing into the hands/

(1) NBDM, 27 March 1860. Upon reading the report of Douglass' speech, Garrison himself pronounced it "inferentially able, ingenious, false, and malignant". (Saml. May Jr. - R. Webb, 15 April 1860).

hands of Southern extremists. The editor described the current Abolitionist campaign as "a lost labour in philanthropy" and told the people of Glasgow that since they would not be willing to pay for emancipation, they should not support the anti-slavery movement, since either a slave insurrection or immediate emancipation would cut off the cotton supply and bring economic disaster. The Herald declared that it favoured eventual abolition but it would be too dangerous to Britain to take any steps in that direction at the present time. The leader concluded by ridiculing "the eloquence expended on behalf of Dr. Cheever," which had no effect on the slave holders.⁽¹⁾

The pro-Abolitionist papers generally deplored the controversy, although there was considerable disagreement over who was in the right. The N.B. Daily Mail called upon the two contestants to use all of their energy against slavery rather than expending it in sterile disputes. The Mail, however, pronounced Thompson to be in the right in the matter and argued that secession by the free states would render slavery unprofitable by encouraging mass escapes.⁽²⁾ The Caledonian Mercury also deplored the contest as "bitter and very unnecessary," but attacked the Garrisonian advocates of secession/

(1) Glasgow Herald, 27 March 1860.

(2) NBDM, 28 March.

secession for planning to leave the negroes more firmly in the grip of the slaveholders than ever. "Such a policy", declared the Mercury, "informs a somewhat anomalous idea of moral responsibility - the blacks have reason to desire that they might be delivered from such friends, and their theoretical principles, when examined, prove to be as unacceptable as their practical conclusions." The paper agreed with Douglass that the basic principles of the American Constitution were incompatible with slavery and could be used to destroy the latter once the American people were persuaded by the Abolitionists.⁽¹⁾ The Glasgow Examiner, organ of the evangelicals, gave complete support to Douglass and his line of argument. The paper accused Thompson of starting the dispute and characterised the Garrisonians as being excessively disputatious, particularly towards evangelical Abolitionists. The paper agreed that the American Constitution could provide the legal basis for emancipation and praised Douglass for putting the public right in the matter.⁽²⁾ It is significant that the N.B. Daily Mail, which backed Thompson's arguments in favour of the disruption of the Union, was subsequently to be a strong supporter of the Confederacy: whereas the Mercury and the Examiner, which took Douglass' side/

(1) Gal. Mer., 30 March.

(2) Glasgow Examiner, 31 March 1860.

side, were later to back the Federals.

On the following day, Douglass continued his campaign by addressing a meeting at the Cathcart U.P. Church in Ayr. A representative of the Establishment, the Rev. Dykes, accompanied the speaker on the platform, together with two U.P. ministers, the Reverends Morrison and Taylor.

Douglass attacked "the demoralising and un-Christian influences of slavery on both bond and free", and the Reverend (1) Robertson propounded the Scriptural basis for Abolitionism.

On the following day Douglass was back in Glasgow, speaking at the East Campbell St. U.P. Church, which was crowded for the occasion. (2)

On the 29th he spoke on "slaveholders in the Church" before a large gathering in the Reverend Burgess' U.P. Church. He denounced slaveholders who professed Christianity and criticised the American Church for not fighting slavery more vigorously. However, he attributed this laxity in large part to the fact that British Churches had also been lax in not bringing enough moral pressure to bear upon America. He denounced those Southern ministers who attempted to justify slavery as a Christian institution and who seemed to preach only one text/

(1) NBDM, 2 April 1860.

(2) Glasgow Examiner, 31 March 1860.

text: "Servants, obey your masters". Douglass then launched into his "Slaveholder's Sermon", which was received with great laughter and applause.⁽¹⁾ He concluded by stressing the need for Scottish Christians to induce the American Church to condemn slavery outright.⁽²⁾

This was Douglass' final meeting in Scotland. On the 28th he had received the news of the death of his youngest daughter,⁽³⁾ and on the 30th he left for London on his way back to America.⁽⁴⁾ He was thus unable to attend a meeting of the Glasgow New Abolitionist Association on the 30th. This meeting was held in the Trades Hall which was about half filled "with a respectable audience". David Smith acted as chairman, and on the platform were the Rev. Dr. Robson and Rev. Knox of the U. K. Church, Rev. D. McGregor of the Free Church, Rev. Day, and other Abolitionist ministers and laymen. David Smith spoke of the necessity for Christian action against American slavery and discussed the deleterious effect of slavery on American life and institutions. He mentioned the many recent Abolitionist rallies in Glasgow and declared that, since the Harper's Ferry Rising, American slavery was existing "on the edge of a volcano". Mr. Young, the Secretary of the Association, read the annual report, describing/

(1) The "Slaveholder's Sermon" was a set piece of Douglass', consisting of a humorous imitation of a sermon defending slavery. It was a great favourite among Abolitionist audiences. (Quarles, op.cit., 363).

(2) NEDM, 30 March 1860.

(3) Ibid, 2 April 1860.

(4) Ibid, 31 March.

describing the development of the organisation since its formation in 1851. He paid tribute to the "warm adherence" and "valuable assistance" of the "ministers of the various evangelical denominations". After paying tribute to the evangelical clergy for their staunch support of the Society, Young stressed the importance of Livingstone's discoveries and their promise of a source of free labour cotton. Dr. Robson, the final speaker, laid down the Society's line in regard to the American Union and Constitution. They must continue to oppose dissolution and support the policy of using the Constitution for Abolitionist purposes, in the belief that union would accomplish emancipation better than disunion.⁽¹⁾

Douglass' speech of the 26th and in general the popular enthusiasm which he had aroused in Scotland were disturbing to George Thompson and his Glasgow associates, who determined to make one more public effort to counteract the doctrines which the American Abolitionist had propounded. The Glasgow Emancipation Society advertised another public meeting for 3 April, at which, they asserted, "Mr. Thompson will prove that the United States Constitution was originally framed to protect and has ever since been employed to preserve and extend the institution of slavery".⁽²⁾ While Douglass had been rounding off his triumphal tour in the west of Scotland, Thompson had swung to the north; on March 27 he addressed a rally/

(1) loc.cit.; Glasgow Examiner, 7 April. During the past year the New Association had collected £140 and expended £134. By the end of the financial year they expected to have between £20 and £30 to send over to their colleagues in America.

(2) NBDM, 27 March.

rally at the Rev. Gilfillan's church in Dundee, and the following day appeared at the City Hall in Perth. Then he returned to speak at another demonstration in Edinburgh on the 30th.⁽¹⁾

Eliza Wigham's report on Thompson's Edinburgh appearances indicates that he was not in best form - "He has given us two lectures in Edinburgh, very helpful and full of information in themselves, and it is affecting to find the want of voice in their delivery. We hope, however, as our dear friend's health becomes further restored he will be able to resume his old power of thrilling audiences. @ - We are very hopeful that good may result from the information George Thompson has been able to give. His mind seems to us remarkably clear, and his perception of the exact information required to meet every circumstance is very wonderful."⁽²⁾

At the same time the April edition of the British Friend, edited by William Smeal, expressed its pleasure over Thompson's recovery of health, and, after praising his speeches in Edinburgh and elsewhere, announced his coming visit to Glasgow.⁽³⁾

The Glasgow meeting took place in the City Hall on 3 April with Councillor Thompson as chairman. Thompson announced that he had challenged Douglass by letter to a friendly debate, but that Douglass had declined to take up the challenge. He asserted that Douglass had not a single authority for his statements and, to the applause of his audience, challenged him to produce one. Taking up Douglass' charge that he had made false statements, Thompson reiterated that the President was required by the Constitution to suppress it, as "quite unworthy of consideration". The speaker then entered further/

(1) ASR, 3rd ser., VIII, 97-98.

(2) E. Wigham - Saml. May Jr., 4 April 1860.

(3) British Friend, April 1860.

further into the involved arguments over the "persons in service" or "fugitive slave provision" clause. Thompson went over the Pinkney and Butler resolution of 1787 and Madison's speech to his constituents defending the Constitution and asserted that they proved that the clause had been inserted to satisfy the slaveholders that their fugitive slaves would be recaptured. Thompson accused Douglass of giving a false picture of the drafting of the Constitution and said that unless the American could clear himself of these charges "he was unworthy to appear before a British audience". The speaker went on to declare that no lawyer would agree with Douglass' interpretation of the Constitution, and furthermore, that if any leader of the Republican party were to put forward Douglass' views, the party would collapse. Thompson maintained that Douglass had "palmed a chimera on the public for which, were he not known to be a sane man, his mind might be questioned". After disclaiming any uncharitable feeling toward his opponent, he concluded amid loud applause, and a vote of thanks was proposed by William Smeal and carried by the gathering.⁽¹⁾

The Examiner expressed its hope that the controversy was now at an end. It praised the ability and sincerity of both men, but criticised Thompson for presenting "dry facts - read in an undertone" and described the speech as "one of the least interesting he has yet made in Glasgow." Thompson's defence against Douglass' charge of falsifying the facts was praised, however, as "eloquent and impressive", but the article pointed out that the general dispute could go on for years without reaching any definite conclusions. "Both/

(1) NBDM, 4 April; Glasgow Examiner, 7 April; Glasgow Emancipation Society Minute Books, 3 April.

"Both the disputants are men of no ordinary ability, both have a body of highly respectable men as their supporters, but the public do not care very much about the letter of the American Constitution. They know its working - they know that slavery is sheltered under it, and they know that the people of the U.S. could emancipate the slave if they were so willing. Statutes there as here are binding only so long as the people and the government are willing to submit to them; and a vote today can make that legal and constitutional which was illegal and unconstitutional yesterday."⁽¹⁾ This sensible observation brought the contest to a close. Thompson went on to speak in Dublin,⁽²⁾ and Douglass returned to America, where the persecution of the Abolitionists had abated somewhat.⁽³⁾ The latter had evidently been particularly disturbed by the problem of Abolitionist factionalism, for, after his return, we find him lamenting that: "Little progress has been made in twenty-five years of anti-slavery effort. There have been many mistakes to be corrected. And there has been much force used up by needless faction between/

(1) Glasgow Examiner, 7 April 1860.

(2) E. Wigham-Saml. May Jr., 4 April.

(3) A letter from New York to the Examiner, written during this campaign against the Abolitionists, declared: "How it would rejoice the soul of the Senatorial Investigating Committee to get Frederick Douglass into their power and examine him concerning his knowledge of the Harper's Ferry raid. I am not sure, however, but that he is telling them all they wish to know where he now is; and if your journals will only agree to report his speeches faithfully, it may save a great deal of trouble." (Glasgow Examiner, 3 March 1860).

between contending parties." (1)

The Douglass - Thompson controversy illustrates several important points connected with the Abolitionist movement and the relations between Scotland and America. It reveals the bitter factionalism that existed between many of the active Abolitionists and gives some picture of the hectic embattled lives which they led. Certainly, the years of incessant abuse to which many of them had been subjected, particularly in America, had helped to make them hyper-sensitive and sometimes querulous. This was especially the case with the Garrisonians, who were increasingly on the defensive as the Republican Party gained ground in America. The fact that what was essentially an American quarrel could flourish so vigorously on Scottish soil, illustrates the close tie between the Scottish and the American sections of the "Abolitionist international" - a tie which reflected the interlocking economics of industrial Britain and the slave states of America.

It is interesting to compare the position of the Scottish denominations during the appearance of Douglass and Thompson with their position during the "send back the money" campaign. The U.P. Church continued to be the most active supporter of Abolitionism and the chief religious spearhead of the movement. The U.P. clergy were active in anti-slavery work and U.P. churches/

(1) The specific subject which he had been discussing in this article was the "Progressive Friends", a Quaker Abolitionist group in America led by Oliver Johnson. However, he obviously had his recent Scottish encounter in mind. (Douglass' Monthly, June 1860, quoted in J. Balme, American States, Churches and Slavery, Edinburgh, 1862, p.442.

U.P. churches served as meeting places for the speakers and focal points of activity, particularly in smaller towns where there were no permanent Abolitionist organisations. The chief new factor is the emergence of the Free Church as an anti-slavery force - a fact which indicates the easing of denominational tension in Scotland, and in particular, the end of sectarian bitterness over the "send back the money" issue. Garrison's anti-clerical tendencies, however, (together with dark hints from American sources that he intended to overthrow the Christian Church) as well as humiliating memories of 1846, inclined Free Churchmen to prefer to work with the New Abolitionist groups, which helped to gather representatives of the various bodies on to a common platform.

Another interesting aspect of the controversy was the fact that it was confined entirely to Glasgow. Basically, this was no doubt due to the fact that Glasgow, with its cotton industry and its trading ties with the United States, was more sensitive to American currents. The U.P. Church was a mediating force - Dr. Anderson and other ministers of this denomination associated themselves publicly with both parties, and so did Duncan M'Laren, although he favoured Douglass through his newspaper, the Caledonian Mercury. M'Laren's influence also probably helped prevent the controversy from being taken up by the Edinburgh Abolitionists; he appeared on the platform with both speakers and, although backing Douglass' programme, gave strong support to the Edinburgh Emancipation Society.⁽¹⁾

Douglass' second tour of Scotland was also influential in/

(1) e.g. Cal.Mer. 10 April 1860.

in combatting the racialism which had developed perceptibly in Britain during the previous decade. Douglass reported that in 1846 he had found no trace of colour prejudice, whereas he encountered a good deal of it in 1860. "Now," he stated, "American prejudice might be found in the streets of Liverpool and in nearly all - - - commercial towns."

Douglass attributed this to the increasing contact of Britons with Americans from the slave states - a contact which had been facilitated by the development of steam navigation. He also blamed "that pestiferous nuisance, Ethiopian minstrels", for introducing "the slang phrases, the contemptuous sneers, all originating in the spirit of slavery". He went on to maintain that: "It was necessary, when we had seen the negro represented in all manner of extravagances, contented and happy as a slave, thoughtless of any life higher than a mere physical one - it was meet and right that some slave should break away from his chains and rise up and assert his manhood and the manhood of his race in the presence of those prejudices."⁽¹⁾

Some of the Scottish comment on Douglass also brings to light the struggle being carried on by Protestant orthodoxy against the "racial science" which had sprung up during the mid-century and was strengthened by the work of Darwin, whose magnum opus had appeared a year before Douglass' second Scottish tour. Eagerness to maintain the Scriptural doctrines/

(1) ASR, 3rd ser., VIII, 124-27. The "stage negro" presented by the minstrel shows undoubtedly contributed to the spread of colour prejudice, but to some extent these shows, in so far as they brought to the world some of the distinctiveness of negro music, had the effect of encouraging respect for American coloured people. An interesting sidelight on Douglass' visit to Glasgow was the fact that while he was speaking there, an "African Pera Troupe" appeared on the Glasgow stage with what is described as "refined negro music". Uncle Tom's Cabin was also produced in Glasgow while Douglass was there. (Glasgow Examiner, 31 March 1860).

doctrines concerning the unity of the human family was undoubtedly a leading motive behind the enthusiastic endorsement of Douglass by Protestant leaders and newspapers.

The Douglass - Thompson controversy gave a thorough airing to the ideological positions of the Garrisonian and New Abolitionist camps. As was generally agreed by the Scottish press, the two different approaches to the slavery question were both of value in furthering the Abolitionist cause. Garrison and his followers had certainly given the original impetus to Abolitionism and continued to serve throughout as the moral watchdogs of the movement, denouncing all deviations and compromises, drawing upon themselves the major share of the persecution instigated by the pro-slavery forces, and, in general, serving as an avant garde. But, the arguments propounded by Thompson indicate that, however valid the Garrisonian policy may have been at one time, it was increasingly out of touch with the realities of American political and economic developments. Under the pressure of these developments the Garrisonians became increasingly doctrinaire and refused to examine critically their basic assumptions. (2)

(1) e.g., the Examiner declared: "He would indeed be bold who could look upon that manly figure and intelligent countenance and listen to the just and subtle reasoning and exalted Christian sentiment and commanding eloquence of Frederick Douglass and at the same time entertain the idea that a dark skin indicates inferior intellectual capacity. - - He was surrounded by white men who have travelled the mazes of ancient and modern philosophy, who have had their minds drilled and disciplined in the schools and colleges and who are justly famed among us for erudition and eloquence, yet who amongst them could have been entitled to regard this escaped slave of an American planter as his inferior?" (Glas. Exam., 4 Feb. 1860). See also the Brit. and Foreign Evangel. Review, Oct. 1863, pp. 816-820 (article on "Slavery and the Bible". It contains a probable reference to Douglass.) - also the opposition of the (U.P.) Scottish Press to discrimination against negroes on the Cunard line (20 Dec. 1859). (for continuation see next page, also f.n.2.)

assumptions.⁽¹⁾ They consequently overlooked the significance of the shift in the balance of power in America occasioned by the increasing economic preponderance of the free states. They could present a strong negative criticism of slavery, but no positive, practical course of action. On the other hand, Douglass and the New Abolitionists, by identifying themselves with the Republican Party, could offer a practical policy designed to end the political domination of the slaveholders, as a necessary step towards eventual emancipation. Subsequent events were to prove this to be the correct approach. / As Douglass had pointed out, secession was now the watchword of the pro-slavery extremists and his complaint that the Garrisonians were playing into the hands of the Southerners was to be vindicated by the fact that pro-Southern propagandists later made effective use of Garrison's doctrine that secession was necessary to bring about emancipation.⁽²⁾ On the whole, the interest aroused by/

(continuation of f.n. 1 from previous page)
 Spence, 136-37; Bulloch, 11, 310. It is significant, in this respect, that the two papers which most emphatically sided with Douglass in the controversy (the Caledonian Mercury and the Glas. Examiner) supported the North during the War, while the NBDM was pro-Southern.

(2) Assumptions based to a large extent on the teachings of Rousseau, which were an important formative influence on the "American Mind", and were particularly influential in New England, the chief stronghold of Garrisonianism. (e.g. Thoreau). Thompson's speeches illustrate how the Constitution was regarded as a social contract which conscientious individuals and states should repudiate, rather than as a document shaped and continually altered by economic and political realities.

(2) e.g., v.d. Spence, The American Union, London 1862, passim.

by the two speakers helped greatly to further the general anti-slavery revival in Scotland, and Douglass' efforts, in particular, helped to lay the ground for the popular support of the North during the Southern Rebellion. (1)

In the ensuing months Radical and Protestant papers continued to focus public attention on American developments and gave considerable notice to atrocities against negroes and the increasing suppression of civil liberties in the South. (2)

The emissaries of the Buxton Mission in Canada continued to encourage popular support in Scotland for their work. A large rally to raise funds to feed, clothe, and educate fugitive slaves was held in the Merchants' Hall in Glasgow on May 15. The Lord Provost presided and spoke out strongly against slavery, maintaining that every means must be used to end the system. John M'Dowall of the New Association was on the platform, together with ministers of the U.P. and Free Church (including Principal Fairbairn) and Rev. Symington of the Reformed Presbyterian Church. One of the speakers was Rev. William King of the Buxton Mission, a veteran of the Abolitionist movement who had been active in the American Underground Railway. He declared that Christianity and slavery could not continue to exist together in America, and that one must eventually destroy the other. He strongly deplored the Abolitionist schism as seriously weakening the cause and stressed the urgent need for money to/

(1) vid. Quarles, op. cit., 184.

(2) The Glasgow Examiner and the Caledonian Mercury in particular gave a large amount of space to these developments. Vid. the Mercury, 3 May 1860, which spoke of a coming "day of retribution for slaveholders and slave states - - the wish of every friend of humanity and religion must be that it will come quickly."

to aid the growing number of fugitive slaves in Canada, who, he asserted, had already shattered the myth of negro racial inferiority by their rapid educational progress. Another speaker was a Louisiana minister who had liberated his slaves and joined the Abolitionist movement. He described the deleterious moral influence of slavery as he had seen it, and urged the development of free cotton and sugar cultivation on the African coast by liberated slaves. He was followed by a Mr. Johnston, a fugitive slave studying medicine at the University of Edinburgh with the intention of becoming a medical missionary to the negro refugees in Canada. He described his experiences under slavery and his escape, and stressed the fact that the slaves were denied access to Christianity and education by their masters. He was applauded with enthusiasm throughout his speech by the gathering. Dr. Symington also spoke and at the end of the meeting a committee was formed to work for the Buxton Mission in Glasgow.⁽¹⁾ On June 12, a similar rally was held in the Free North Church in Stirling at which Dr. Burns and several local ministers spoke.⁽²⁾ At the same time Scottish ministers were continuing their efforts for Dr. Cheever.⁽³⁾

The meeting of the Church courts in the spring of 1860 saw another clash between the Abolitionists and their opponents.

(1) NBDM, 15 May 1860.

(2) Ibid, 13 June.

(3) For instance, on May 20, the Reverend Jonathan Watson of the Dublin St. Baptist Church in Edinburgh, preached "On the Anti-Christian and Inhuman Institution of American Slavery" and took up a collection for Dr. Cheever and his associates. (Scotsman, 19 May)

opponents. Two emissaries⁽¹⁾ of the American United Presbyterian denomination, a strongly Abolitionist body, appeared in Edinburgh for the session of the Scottish U.P. Synod. They addressed the Synod and their letters of introduction, containing denunciations of slavery, were read to the gathering. They were also scheduled to appear before the Free Church General Assembly, but at the last minute the Business Committee of the Assembly, which was evidently dominated by the anti-Abolitionist remnant in the Free Church, refused to allow their anti-slavery letters of introduction to be read. As a protest against this action, the American ministers refused to speak before the Assembly. When this episode became known it aroused strong indignation among Free Churchmen. Letters were written to the press protesting in the name of the mass of Free Churchmen against the arbitrary action of the committee which was held to be a violation of basic Free Church principles, and asserting that the majority of Free Churchmen deprecated the act. As one writer declared, the anti-slavery letters should have been "an additional fraternal bond, instead of chilling the flow of Christian sympathy."⁽²⁾

William Stephenson, Secretary of the Edinburgh Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society, criticised⁽²⁾ Dr. Buchanan for not having opposed the suppression of the letters, particularly after/

(1) The Rev. Dr. Kerr, Professor of Church History at the U.P. Seminary in Pittsburg, and the Rev. Harper of Ohio.

(2) NBDM, June 15, et seq.

after the latter's strong anti-slavery speech at the Glasgow Cheever meeting.

To the intense indignation of Edinburgh Abolitionists, the Free Church Business Committee proceeded to accept the credentials of Dr. Murray, anti-Abolitionist American minister, as well as those of Leyburn and Stuart, two of Murray's associates.⁽¹⁾

The fact that the General Assemblies were this year celebrating the Tercentenary of the Scottish Reformation, attracted a number of American clergy, both anti-slavery and anti-Abolitionist. One American anti-slavery minister, the Rev. Northrop, who was in Edinburgh at this time, preached to a large congregation in Dr. Begg's Church in Newington on April 1, and that evening he preached at Free St. Luke's at a crowded service from which hundreds had to be turned away. Collections were taken up for Dr. Cheever.⁽²⁾ In his sermons the American minister attempted to counteract the false impression that the American Church, with a few heroic exceptions, endorsed and actively supported slavery. This impression was encouraged, inadvertently, by the propaganda of the Garrisonians, who sometimes gave the impression that America and its institutions were hopelessly corrupted, except for those circles supporting Garrison's doctrines. This picture subsequently provided convenient material for the conservative elements which were later to support the Rebellion.

The Tercentenary Reformation celebration, in which all of the Protestant denominations were to participate, was being planned for August, and both pro-slavery and Abolitionist ministers/

(1) Letter of Wm. Stephenson, NBDM, 30 June. The Edinburgh Garrisonians waged an intensive campaign against these three minister - E. Wigham-Saml. May Jr., 8 June.

(2) Witness, 4 April, 1860.

ministers from America were anxious to be represented. In the committee in charge of arranging the celebration, it was suggested that Dr. Gardiner Spring,⁽¹⁾ an Old School Presbyterian minister of New York, who was a noted apologist for the slaveholders, should be invited as a guest speaker. As in the case of Dr. Murray, the Abolitionists responded vigorously to this move. They were particularly fortunate in being able to enlist the support of Adam Pearson, a Scottish-American merchant resident in Edinburgh, who had been an elder in Spring's church in New York City. In a letter to the Witness, the official Free Church organ, Pearson criticised Spring's attitude toward the slavery question, and declared that Spring, on one occasion, when repeating the 58th Chapter of Isaiah, had omitted the 6th verse because of its anti-slavery implications.⁽²⁾

A heated controversy ensued in the columns of the Witness, as Spring, through the medium of a friend, issued an angry rejoinder.⁽³⁾ Pearson continued to press his charges against Spring and all ministers who apologised for slavery.⁽⁴⁾ At the same time Pearson completely repudiated "the infidel views of Garrison and his party" in terms which indicated that considerable ill-feeling toward the latter group lingered on in Free Church circles.⁽⁴⁾ The Edinburgh Garrisonians/

(1) See article in Dictionary of American Biography (henceforth DAB).

(2) Witness, 11 April.

(3) Witness, 9 June.

(4) Ibid, 13 June.

Garrisonians, however, supported wholeheartedly the campaign to exclude Spring and other pro-slavery representatives from the Tercentenary celebrations.⁽¹⁾

The disputes centring on the Tercentenary celebrations provided excellent opportunities for Abolitionist propagandists, who made good use of them to extend the anti-slavery revival.⁽²⁾ The increasing involvement of the Free Church in the Abolitionist cause is illustrated by the fact that the Witness joined the controversy with an editorial rebuttal to Spring's defender, and asserted, on doctrinal grounds, that the points raised by Spring's friend were erroneous and un-Christian, and concluded that: "It is a bad argument - - - that slavery, defended and practised for its gain is not a sin per se - is not an evil fruit of an evil tree - is not the working of the Wicked One - but is the will of our Father in Heaven, who made of one blood all nations. It is this error creeping up in the free states that needs to be met and warred with; for it is an error that insults not only our common manhood - - - but misrepresents Heaven itself. We have all individual and national sins. Many of them may be equal to this slave system; but we admit them at least to be iniquitous. We do not defend them; we do not lay them at the door of other nations we do not take all the others and cast the responsibility on others;

(1) E. Wigham - Saml. May Jr., 8 June. (Garrison Papers). This bears out our contention that the split between the two factions was not as serious in Edinburgh as in Glasgow.

(2) Eliza Wigham declared: "It (i.e. the controversy over Spring et al.) is very useful as a means of keeping the matter before the public, although it may not keep these men from the pulpits." (loc.cit.)

others; and thankful are we that as yet we do not call them consistent with the will of God."⁽¹⁾

Having entered the fray, the Witness published a number of further anti-slavery articles which gave further proof of the changed attitude of the Free Church toward Abolitionism.⁽²⁾ These editorials developed the Witness's doctrinal arguments against slavery and called for the linking of Abolitionist propaganda with efforts to develop free cotton in the West Indies, India, and particularly in the area of Africa opened up by Livingstone. Although not offering this as a quick solution to the slavery question, the Free Church organ maintained that as free cotton was developed in Africa and elsewhere, the value of the American slaves would decline, thus undermining the political power of the slave holders and paving the way for emancipation. At the same time, the development of cotton cultivation would help to bring an end to tribal warfare and the slave trade in Africa and would also raise the living standard of the natives. The paper criticised British capitalists for neglecting to support free produce efforts, and also urged that, in Africa, missionary work should be combined with the efforts to develop cotton production. This programme was, of course, not original, but it is significant that official Free Church circles should now give it such emphatic support.⁽³⁾

The support given by the Free Church to Abolitionism was disconcerting to the pro-slavery party in America. Dr. Leyburn/

(1) Witness, 9 June.

(2) e.g., Ibid, 13 June, 4 August.

(3) Livingstone's connection with the Free Church should be remembered in this connection.

Dr. Leyburn, (one of Murray's associates, who had been received by the Free Church Assembly) wrote a series of articles on his Scottish visit for the Philadelphia Presbyterian (the paper which had attacked Dr. Guthrie earlier in the year). Leyburn denounced the "harebrained radicals" in the Free Church, but attempted to reassure the pro-slavery element by affirming that the Free Church also contained: "some who have good sense enough to know that they are not precisely qualified to stand here and dictate to Christians all over the world their precise duty in every case." He attacked Guthrie and Cheever, (and by implication, Candlish) but declared that their anti-slavery views were not supported by all in the Church. (1)

Although Eliza Wigham had reported that the attempt to have Spring invited to the Tercentenary celebration had been defeated, Samuel May Jr. was dubious, for he was convinced that the pro-slavery forces would use all of their powerful influence to gain admittance for Spring and Murray. (2)

The controversy developed at a meeting of the committee arranging the celebrations. The Rev. Jonathan Watson, the Edinburgh Baptist Abolitionist, put forward a resolution to exclude all pro-slavery ministers; he was opposed by Dr. Begg, the prominent Radical Free Churchman. The committee was fairly evenly divided on the subject, and the final decision on the matter was postponed. However, liberal and anti-slavery elements kept the issue before the public eye.

William/

(1) Quoted in the Witness, 18 July 1860. A considerable correspondence in the press followed the publication of Leyburn's remarks in Scotland. Most of the letters were critical of the business committee of the Free Church General Assembly for admitting the pro-slavery ministers. (vid. e.g., Cal.Mer., 7 July, 3 August).

(2) Saml. May Jr. - Webb, 17 July 1860.

William Stephenson, Secretary of the Edinburgh Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society, called for popular resistance to the admission of the pro-slavery ministers and warned that "pro-slavery toils are being silently wound around us." He called upon the Abolitionists to bring strong pressure to bear to prevent the reception at the celebrations of any American minister who could not produce evidence of anti-slavery antecedents.⁽¹⁾ Stephenson's appeal received strong support from the Daily Mail, which asserted: "This is a subject of great importance - - and the decision of this meeting will either vindicate the character of the Scottish people in relation to the question of negro slavery or seriously compromise it in the eyes of the world. The question calls for no discussion." Agreeing with Stephenson that slavery was basically contrary to Reformation doctrine, the Mail advised the Scottish ministers that they had a clear duty to denounce slavery and called on the Scottish people to take action against the admission of the pro-slavery ministers.⁽²⁾

The final decision on the question of admitting pro-slavery ministers was postponed until the very eve of the Tercentenary celebrations. However, under pressure from the Abolitionists and an aroused public opinion, the committee in charge of the celebration finally voted to exclude all slaveholders and their apologists.⁽³⁾

(1) NBDM, 30 June 1860.

(2) NBDM, 2 July. The editorial was strongly critical of Dr. Begg and other ministers who adopted his position.

(3) Letter, Rev. Watson - Mrs. Jane Wigham, printed in Anti-Slavery Advocate, September, 1860.

The victory of the Abolitionists in the struggle centring on the Tercentenary was finally clinched in the course of the opening sermon delivered by Dr. Guthrie. On this occasion the leading preacher of the Free Church delivered one of his greatest sermons - and one in which denunciation of slavery was a principal theme.⁽¹⁾

Speaking on Protestant truth and its opposition to lies Dr. Guthrie stressed the need for preaching the social aspects of the Protestant faith and for opposing tyranny and persecution everywhere.

"It has been well said," proclaimed Dr. Guthrie, "that prayer will put an end to sin or sin will put an end to prayer; so to me it appears that the blessed gospel will put an end to slavery, or slavery will put an end to it. What saith the Lord? 'God hath made of one blood all nations.' 'Do unto others as you would have others do unto you.' Love thy neighbour as thyself.' You think there is nothing beyond that, but there is still a higher thing, 'Love one another as I have loved you.' I will sit in judgement upon no man; but I hardly think that the devil himself has sophistry enough to make any man not given over to believe a lie, believe that these truths - - are for one hour consistent with slavery. It is the invisible source of many cruelties, oppressions, adulteries, robberies, and murders, or as worthy John Wesley said of it, it is the sum of all villainies. What doth God require of you? - - to do justice, to love to love mercy, to walk humbly before your God. My dear friends, it appears to me from this and other passages we are taught there is sin in slavery as there is slavery in sin. Take/

(1) On the following day the Caledonian Mercury declared: "Seldom have we seen an audience so spellbound and electrified." Cal.Mer., 15 August.

Take the last words of our blessed Lord I have quoted. 'Love one another as I have loved you.' If I saw a man running for liberty, I would open my door to him; and more than that, if I did what was right, I would wash his blistered feet. -- Don't tell me the crime is old. The older it is the more horrible. Like a dead body, the older it is the more disgusting. Age is no excuse for crime. Murder is older. Rocks and trees, even man, grow venerable with age, but sin never, Don't tell me that men have lost their rights. Lawyers say that crown rights are never prescribed. Well, I don't know but these are better rights; they are my birthright and cannot be prescribed. Don't tell me that it is an inferior race -- Paul says, 'God made of one blood all nations.' -- "(1)

Dr. Guthrie's sermon profoundly moved his audience and marked a further stage in the great resurgence of Abolitionism in Scotland on the eve of the Civil War. The emphatic support of the greatest preacher of the Free Church heartened the veterans of the anti-slavery movement. The Rev. Watson persuaded the Tercentenary committee to publish Dr. Guthrie's sermon with a view to circulating it in America. (2)

Some weeks previous to the Tercentenary celebrations, the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society had issued their annual report. Among the contributions which the Society had made were £ 60 to Dr. Cheever, £52.10s to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and also a sum to George Garrett, the director/

(1) NBDM, 15 Aug; Witness, 15 Aug.1860; A.S.Adv., Sept.1860. Note Dr. Guthrie's continued concern to refute racialist doctrine.

(2) Anti-Slavery Advocate, loc.cit.

director of the Underground Railway. After the publication of the annual report, Miss Wigham and her associates became concerned that the report had included in its appendix a number of letters describing Scottish aid to various American anti-slavery activities. She was finally persuaded to write to Saml. May Jr. to request him not to republish any of the material in America; she expressed the fears of Edinburgh Abolitionists that "it might do harm if it were known that British money, even to so small an extent, were used." It should be remembered that George Thompson had been the object of considerable violence during his visits to America, as he was suspected in some quarters of having introduced Abolitionism into America in order to disrupt the Union for the purpose of furthering British interests.⁽¹⁾

The report of the Ladies' Society, after praising the struggles of Dr. Cheever and other Americans active in the cause, went on to define the Society's position in regard to John Brown. "Differing as we do from him," the report stated, "and his associates as to the mode and wisdom of their enterprise and regretting its bloody termination, we cannot but acknowledge the disinterestedness and devotedness which has characterised them throughout." The report maintained that the desire to free the slaves was not wrong and denounced Brown's executioners.⁽²⁾ The Society also praised Redpath's biography of Brown, although Eliza Wigham had originally not been completely satisfied with it. However, the book had aroused great interest in Edinburgh, where people/

(1) See Raymond English (of Kenyon College, Ohio), George Thompson and the Climax of Philanthropic Radicalism, 1830-42, (unpublished). The 1850's in America were characterised by extensive xenophobia and persecution of minorities under the auspices of such groups as the Know-nothing movement. Harper's Ferry had naturally encouraged this trend.

(2) Liberator. 13 April 1860.

people not only desired to read the book but also asked the Emancipation Society for photographs and busts of John Brown.⁽¹⁾

The Caledonian Mercury hailed the report in terms which underline the close connection between Abolitionism and feminism. "Its bulk is small but it is the record of great deeds. Henceforward let no man speak of woman as the weaker vessel. Here is a society that has existed, yea, flourished, for 27 years, that has managed its own affairs without any male assistance and that may take highest rank among all the philanthropic schemes of the day. It is not an association for the promotion of talk. It has a balance sheet. Its funds are not swallowed up by salaries to secretaries or to anyone else."⁽²⁾

The weeks following the Abolitionist victory at the Reformation Tercentenary were marked by a visit to Scotland by Lord Brougham. The Old Radical had been carrying on a strong campaign in the House of Lords against the slave trade and in favour of free produce in Africa and the Empire. The occasion for his Scottish visit was the annual meeting of the Social Science Association in Glasgow. This association was a pet project of Brougham's which flourished remarkably during the mid-century period. The annual meetings, often held in Scotland, attracted "social scientists" and reformers from all over the world, and papers were read by various leading thinkers on the social problems of the/

(1) E. Wigham - Saml. May Jr., 23 March-8 June, and 4 April. Redpath's book was still not completely accepted in Abolitionist circles; Saml. May Jr. wrote to Webb on 17 July: "I quite agree with your opinion of Redpath's Life of Brown. Its defects and faults are glaring. We need another Life of Brown."

(2) Cal. Mer., 10 April. The Mercury also declared that the report "refers to facts to disprove the deductions of the Times, as if the Times cared for facts."

the day.⁽¹⁾ Addressing the Association on 24 September, Brougham, in discussing world conditions, devoted considerable time to the problem of slavery and its impact upon America. He attacked the current efforts for the South to reopen the African slave trade and called for speedy emancipation in America, predicting that the alternative might be civil war and possibly a slave rising. Although Lord Brougham attacked slavery, he was strongly opposed to promoting Abolition by means of a slave insurrection. He expressed his hope that the Republicans would win the coming American elections and confine slavery in the South as the first step toward a peaceful emancipation.⁽²⁾

At the same time the Rev. T.M. Kinneard paid another visit to Glasgow, to raise funds for the fugitive slaves in Canada. He addressed a large Abolitionist rally in the Free Gaelic Chapel⁽³⁾ and, some days later, preached at the Renfield St. U.P. Church where a collection was taken up for missionary work among the fugitive slaves.⁽⁴⁾

We have already observed the growth of racialism in Britain during the decade or so before 1860 - a growth encouraged partly by increasing contacts with prejudiced Americans and partly by the writings of pseudo-scientific theoreticians, such as Gobineau. A further clash between this trend and the Protestant conscience of Scotland occurred in connection with Sara Remond, a prominent American ex-slave and Abolitionist. Miss Remond was in Britain in 1859, /

(1) In outlook and method it was a precursor of the Fabian Society.

(2) Scotsman, 25 Sept.; NBDM, 25 Sept.

(3) NBDM, 25 Sept., 1860.

(4) Ibid, 13 Oct.

in 1859, and in the latter part of that year the American refused to give her a visa to visit France. At about the same time, her sister (Mrs. Putnam) and a party of coloured friends were segregated while sailing to Britain on the Cunard liner Europa. Miss Remond reported these two incidents in a letter to the (U.P.) (Scottish Press, in which she denounced the spirit of racial prejudice current in America, " -- the spirit which enslaves four million men and women and insults the free coloured population of the United States. You may read the facts, but no words can express the mental suffering we are obliged to bear because we happen to have a dark complexion." The Scottish Press responded to Miss Remond's appeal for support with a strong leader attacking American discriminatory practices and calling for legal action against the Cunard line and for a press campaign against racial discrimination.⁽¹⁾ Other papers, including the Free Church Witness, took up the campaign against the Cunard racial policy. When Mrs. Putnam and her friends returned to America in June of the following year, they were segregated again by the Cunard company. The fact was brought to the attention of the public by the Abolitionists who called on the people "to protest loudly against such sinful prejudice and to insist that a company receiving the pay of our Government shall not thus outrage the national faith that God hath made of one blood all nations."⁽²⁾ The N.B. Daily Mail and the Witness responded with/

(1) Scottish Press, 20 Dec. 1859. Eliza Wigham sent the article to America with the suggestion that it be quoted by Abolitionist papers there (E. Wigham - Saml. May Jr., 22 Dec. 1859).

(2) Letter signed "A.M.", NBDM, 28 June 1860. See also Witness, 23 June.

with articles citing the facts of the case and censuring the Cunard company.⁽¹⁾

In September, Miss Remond attended the meeting of the Social Science Association in Glasgow, and the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society took the opportunity of her presence in Scotland to arrange for her to speak at a meeting in the Bright St. Chapel, on 6 October. On the evening of the rally, the chapel was filled by a crowd of two thousand, and many others were unable to enter. Dr. Guthrie acted as chairman of the meeting and opened the proceedings with a speech in which he denounced slavery and its supporters, defied his American critics, and called on the American denominations to condemn slavery outright. Mentioning the fact that his books, once popular in America, were no longer on sale there, he asserted that he did not care, since he did not "worship the almighty dollar." He then explained how his Abolitionism derived from his basic religious and political convictions.

Miss Remond then addressed the audience for an hour and a half and was frequently interrupted by outbursts of enthusiastic cheering. She declared that she was a pure Abolitionist and not attached to any partisan faction of the movement, and that she supported the God-given right of everyone to personal liberty. She asserted that America was controlled by the 247,000 slave holders and described the brutality attendant upon the operations of the Fugitive Slave Law and the cruelties inflicted on the slaves. She praised/

(1) NBDM, 7 July; Witness, 11 July. Sir Samuel Cunard had replied curtly to letters of protest, and refused to discuss the matter. See also Anti-Slavery Advocate, Aug. 1860, article "The Cunard Company and the American Doctrine of Caste."

praised the work of the Abolitionists and the Underground Railway, but warned against the spread of colour prejudice in Canada. She concluded by eulogising John Brown and called upon British Christians to use their moral influence in support of the Abolitionist movement in America. At the conclusion of her speech she was cheered enthusiastically for several minutes. Dr. Guthrie then spoke again on the text "God has made of one blood all nations" and on the basis of this injunction, urged the Abolition of colour prejudice generally, as well as of slavery.⁽¹⁾

Another coloured speaker who appeared before the Scottish public in the autumn of 1860, was Dr. M.H. Delaney, a prominent American negro.⁽²⁾ Dr. Delaney proposed to colonise Africa with free negroes, who would develop cotton cultivation on that continent and thus provide a source of free cotton and also bring an end to the slave trade by encouraging the tribes to engage in productive work. When Dr. Delaney spoke in Glasgow on October 23, a number of prominent Abolitionists and merchants joined him on the platform - among them were Henry Dunlop (who acted as chairman), William Smeal, W.P. Paton, and Messrs. Smith and Stevenson. Among the several ministers present was the Rev. Kinneard.

Dr. Kinneard/

(1) Scotsman, 2 Oct. 1860.

(2) NBDM, 18 Oct. M.R. Delaney studied medicine at Harvard and was associated with Frederick Douglass for two years (1847-49) in editing the North Star. Because of the increased repression of the American negroes during the 1850's, he came to support a policy of negro emigration to Africa. He was appointed a commissioner of the National Emigration Conference and led an exploring expedition in the Niger area during 1859-60. During the Civil War he became the first negro to attain the rank of major in the American army and was later active in the Radical cause in South Carolina during the Reconstruction period. He was the author of The Condition of the Colored People of the U.S. (contd. next page)

Dr. Delaney described several journeys of exploration he had made in Central Africa and gave a glowing account of the potentialities of the area, emphasising its mineral wealth, good soil, and peaceful, hardworking inhabitants. He also claimed that more cotton could be grown per acre in Africa than in America and predicted to his applauding audience, that five million free workers could be obtained for the African cotton fields, which would spell the doom of the African slave trade. He went on to discuss the danger of depending on America for cotton, and pointed to the possibility of an Anglo-American war or of a successful slave rising along the lines attempted by John Brown. Either of these possibilities, he predicted, would mean disaster for the British working class and for the British economy as a whole. His speech was received with great applause by the audience and at the conclusion, Hugh Tennent moved a resolution to the effect "that this meeting - - being persuaded that the resources of Central Africa are only waiting development by intelligent and Christian coloured men in order to open up most important commercial relations with that country - -". The meeting agreed to set up a committee to support Delaney's work in Central Africa and to collect money for the African Aid Society, which money would be lent to coloured men who wished to set up "as traders on the African coast".⁽¹⁾

Public interest was also aroused during the autumn by the second visit of Dr. Cheever to Scotland. Dr. Cheever had sailed from New York in July for another intensive campaign/

(contd. f.n.2 from previous page)
 Phila., 1852), Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party (1861), and Principia of Ethnology (1879). (vid. article in DAB and references in Garrison, op.cit.).

(1) NBDM, 24 Oct. 1860.

campaign in Britain.⁽¹⁾ He had been fortunate in effecting a reconciliation with Ward Beecher, and on the eve of his departure the Independent carried an article praising the work of the American minister and calling upon the British public to support him.⁽²⁾ On the other hand, the wealthy minority in his congregation and other pro-slavery forces commenced a further intensive campaign to discredit the Reverend Doctor by means of newspaper advertisements, pamphlets, letters to the press, and malicious rumours.⁽³⁾ However, the Protestant and liberal forces in Scotland again rallied strongly to his side.⁽⁴⁾ In October, Dr. Cheever came to Glasgow, where on the 14th, he preached in the Rev. Batchelor's Church and at the Free Tron Church.⁽⁵⁾ On the 17th he spoke at a large rally in the City Hall at which W.P. Paton presided and a considerable number of ministers of the Free, U.P., Independent, and Reformed Presbyterian denominations appeared on the platform. Dr. Cheever was welcomed by the Reverend William Arnot of the Free Church and the Reverend Batchelor, and was received by the audience with loud cheering as he appealed in ringing/

(1) Saml. May Jr. - Webb, 17 July 1860.

(2) Anti-Slavery Advocate, Sept. 1860.

(3) vid. Cheever's speech reported in NBDM, 18 Oct.

(4) e.g., NBDM, 11 Oct., article on his coming visit to Glasgow.

(5) NBDM, 15 Oct.

ringing terms for aid in his campaign against slavery.

I include here a typical example of Dr. Cheever's oratory, drawn from this speech, in order to make clear the powerful appeal which Dr, Cheever, and the other leading Abolitionist speakers made to their Scottish audiences.

"I stand here tonight", declared Cheever, "to appeal in behalf of the freedom of God's Word against the sin of American slavery. I appeal in behalf of four million slaves and their posterity for your prayers, your sympathies, your remonstrances, without ceasing, against the infinite and complicated system of such bondage. I appeal in behalf of equity and justice outraged on so terrible a scale - in behalf of the interests of humanity everywhere at stake - in behalf of Africa and its millions - in behalf of an outraged piety for the honour of the Cross - in behalf of universal Christendom insulted by the sanction of this appalling sin - in behalf of nearly the whole world, revolting against the despotism of a system of such indescribable cruelty and wickedness."

Dr. Cheever went on to describe the march of the slave power in America since the Dred Scott decision, its control of the national government, and its influence in the Church. After discussing the steady advance of the slave power in America since the Dred Scott decision, Dr. Cheever discussed his campaign for the excommunication of slave holders within the Church and described the opposition which this policy engendered and the campaign being carried out against him in Britain. He declared that his appeal for funds would, if successful, remove his church from dependence on the wealthy pro-slavery minority who were behind the agitation against him. Warning the Scottish Church not to be taken/

taken in by the propaganda and false religiosity of the slave power, he pointed out the strong effect which their opinion had in America, as evidenced in the furious reactions of the pro-slavery press. He concluded by telling his audience that to compromise with slavery for the sake of cotton would be a complete violation of Christian duty.

The Reverend Henry Calderwood of the U.P. denomination then moved a resolution expressing support for Dr. Cheever and "reasserting the well-known and unabated position of this city to the anti-Scriptural system of slave holding in the United States of America." He declared that the Abolitionist movement must not be hindered by the elements opposing the American minister. Dr. Symington, the concluding speaker, expressed the support of his denomination, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and described its historical and consistent abolitionist policy, based upon the conviction that "slavery was an infraction of the inalienable human right to liberty."⁽¹⁾

At the same time Dr. Cheever had succeeded in uniting more strongly behind him the rival Abolitionist factions in Scotland and thus helped to alleviate the tension aroused by the Douglass - Thompson controversy. On 18 October he addressed a large meeting of the Glasgow New Abolitionist Society, which passed a resolution strongly endorsing his work.⁽²⁾ At the same time the Garrisonians were co-operating actively with him.⁽³⁾ Eliza Wigham wrote to America, "We have been much impressed by his earnestness and devotion to/

(1) NBDM, 18 Oct. 1860.

(2) NBDM, 19 Oct.

(3) Scotsman, 7 Dec.

to the cause. . . He has vindicated Garrison well on all occasions." She promised the help of her Society in raising funds for the minister. At the same time she asked the American Garrisonians not to "think that anything given to him will be withdrawn from the Old Guard, it will be either additional or from quarters which would never have the courage to stand by the Old Guard."⁽¹⁾ This letter indicates that Dr. Cheever was drawing support from circles which were normally out of the reach of the Abolitionist societies. On the 19th Dr. Cheever preached⁽²⁾ at Dr. Buchanan's Free College Church and at the U.P. Greyfriars Kirk where a collection was taken for his mission. Two days later, the American minister spoke to a large meeting in the Merchants' Hall, with Bailie Blackie in the chair and a number of prominent ministers and others on the platform, including the Rev. Kinneard and Dr. Delaney. Bailie Blackie, in opening the meeting, declared that the effectiveness of Cheever's work was indicated by the pamphlet and newspaper campaign being carried out against him, and urged the audience to strengthen Cheever's hand by supporting his abolitionist work. Dr. Cheever's speech was devoted largely to analysing the economics of slavery. In making this analysis, he raised the matter of the dignity of labour, an issue which was later to be of great importance in influencing Scottish opinion concerning the Civil War.

He described the degradation of free labour which slavery entailed, and asserted that the right to strike was fundamental/

(1) E. Wigham - Saml. May Jr., 15 Dec. 1860.

(2) "Exclaiming against the wrongs of the slaves and bespeaking sympathy for them." NBDM, 20 Oct.

fundamental to a free society. He accused the slaveholders of being "robbers defrauding the slaves of their just earnings" and urged that the introduction of free labour with purchasing power derived from wages, would greatly improve the economy of both the North and the South. Dr. Cheever's speech was received with strong applause and a committee was formed to support his work. The Rev. Kinneard and Dr. Delaney spoke in support of the American minister, Dr. Delaney declaring that the position of the American minister in regard to slavery was the only one supported by the American negroes.⁽¹⁾

The Glasgow committee to aid Cheever met on Nov.2 and the treasurer, Bailie Black, presented the American minister with a hundred pounds. He also told him that a further sum was expected and that they intended to raise £50 per year for the next few years from Glasgow sympathisers.⁽²⁾ Dr. Cheever then went on to Edinburgh where he preached on Abolitionism to crowded congregations in a number of the leading Free and U.P. Churches, which presented him with large collections.⁽³⁾ On the 15th, a number of the leading Edinburgh ministers met in the Queen St. Hall to welcome Cheever to the city and discuss measures to be taken to further his cause. Among the prominent figures at this gathering were Drs. Guthrie, Candlish, Begg, Rev. Jonathan Watson and other Free Church and U.P. clergymen. Dr. Cheever described his campaign against slavery, and a committee was appointed to arrange further lectures and meetings/

(1) NBDM, 24 Oct. 1860.

(2) Ibid, Nov.3.

(3) Scotsman, 13 Nov., et seq.

meetings on the subject.⁽¹⁾

On the 21st, Dr. Cheever spoke on "The Slave Power in America and its Bearing on the Church of the Puritans" at a rally in the Free Assembly Hall. The Lord Provost opened the proceedings with an address praising Cheever. Dr. Guthrie also spoke in Favour of the American minister and described the American press campaign against himself. Cheever, after attacking slavery from a Christian standpoint, recounted his unsuccessful efforts, backed by Mrs. Beecher Stowe, to induce the American Missionary Board to outlaw slavery and ban slaveholders from the Church. He was accorded an enthusiastic vote of thanks by the audience, and a proposal that he give further lectures was applauded.⁽²⁾ During the following days he spoke at a number of other meetings and religious services.⁽³⁾

The resounding success of Cheever's appeal to the Scottish Church was not long in provoking counter moves by his enemies. On the 26th, a letter signed "Lover of Truth" appeared in the Scotsman, renewing the attack which had been made on the American minister in Glasgow during the previous spring. The letter claimed that Cheever was raising money to carry on a partisan quarrel within his own church which had "no connection with the question of slavery in any sense". The writer reiterated the charge that Cheever's appeal was not sanctioned by his church and urged the people of/

(1) Scotsman, 16 Nov.

(2) Scotsman, 22 Nov. 1860.

(3) For his itinerary, see advertisements in Scotsman, 24 Nov. et seq.

of Edinburgh to "pause before giving aid".⁽¹⁾ "Lover of Truth" was in fact the pseudonym of J. Hitchcock Carroll, an Irish minister who had immigrated to South Carolina, and was at the time on a trip to Europe.⁽²⁾

Carroll's description of the effectiveness of his attack on Cheever seems to be somewhat exaggerated. A long letter by a group of Edinburgh Abolitionists⁽³⁾ denied Carroll's accusations and denounced his anonymity as "use of the mask and stiletto". The writers pointed out that the accusations were not new and had been refuted by Cheever at his Glasgow meeting on his previous visit. They declared that the dispute in Cheever's church was concerned solely with the slavery question and was occasioned by the wealthy minority within the congregation who were attempting to silence the minister. The abolitionists listed a number of testimonials supporting Cheever's mission from pastors/

(1) Scotsman, 26 Nov.

(2) Thomas Smyth, D.D., Autobiographical Notes, Letters, and Reflections, edited by Louisa C. Storey, Charleston, S.C., 1914, p. 559-60. For Smyth's hostility to Cheever see Complete Works of Thomas Smyth, ed. J. Flinn, 10 vols Columbia, S. Carolina, 1908-12, I, 547. Upon his return to South Carolina, Carroll wrote to Dr. Thomas Smyth (who was shortly to help engineer a schism in the American Presbyterian Church): "Is there nothing I can do for the brave little state, the home of my adoption? You are not aware how I gloried in the opportunities afforded, and they were legion, when abroad, of defending the South and her rights, especially when in Edinburgh, where Cheever's advent afforded ample occasion. - - How about a chaplaincy in the army of "The Republic of South Carolina." Thomas Smyth, D.D., op.cit. p. 573.

(3) The authors of the letters were: William Duncan, J. Burns Murdoch, H.D. Dickie, and William Lillie.

(1)

pastors and church bodies of various American denominations.

Carroll replied with a second letter on December 3, accusing Cheever of various acts of dishonesty and claiming that Cheever's opponents within his congregation were abolitionists. He repeated the old charge that Cheever had initiated the appeal to Britain secretly and did not bring the matter before the congregation until months afterwards. Carroll also brought up an old accusation that Cheever had allowed a wealthy slaveholding woman to remain within the church and quoted an Independent article criticising Cheever's mission to Britain.⁽²⁾ On the same day, the anti-Cheever faction within the Church of the Puritans had an advertisement inserted on the front page of the Scotsman urging the ministers and people not to support Cheever, whose mission, it was alleged, was not authorised by the church.⁽²⁾ Replying in defence of Cheever, William Lillie declared that Cheever was struggling against the slave power in New York and referred to the fact that the Free Church Synod of America had endorsed Cheever's mission.⁽³⁾

The campaign against Cheever was unable to halt the triumphal course of his campaign and the Scottish clergy remained loyal to him. On November 28 he spoke at a rally in the Queen St. Hall where he was joined on the platform by a number of ministers and other notables, including Dr. Candlish and the Reverend Watson.⁽⁴⁾ The chair was taken by/

(1) Scotsman, 29 Nov. 1860.

(2) Scotsman, 3 Dec. 1860. Their appearance on the same day suggests collusion between Carroll and the anti-Cheever faction in the Church of the Puritans.

(3) *Ibid*, 6 Dec.

(4) Also on the platform were Revs. Goold, Ritchie, and Anderson of Loanhead; Rev. Professor Duncan, General Anderson, Sheriff Cleghorn, Mr. Craigie of Falconhall, John Dunlop of Duddingston, Dr. Greville, Wm. Duncan, Robert Paul and Burn Murdoch Jr.

by Adam Black, Whig M.P.⁽¹⁾ for Edinburgh and publisher of the Edinburgh Review. In his opening address, Black inveighed against the fear that total emancipation in America would cut off the cotton supply of the British factories. He asserted that, on the contrary, abolition would stimulate cotton cultivation in Africa and other parts of the world with the result that Britain would be able to obtain cheaper cotton in greater quantity than was at present obtainable from America. Dr. Cheever, speaking on "American Slavery and Slaveholding", discussed the evil effects of the various laws and court decisions which extended the influence of American slavery.⁽²⁾ On November 30, Dr. Cheever spoke at a meeting of the Edinburgh Ladies' New Anti-Slavery Society; in the course of his anti-slavery address, he expressed his conviction that abolition would come within twenty years if a sufficiently large section of the American clergy would come out definitely in favour of it. In the meantime he held that Christian slaveholders should be induced to free their slaves and pay them a just wage. He concluded his address by stressing the evil social and moral effects of slavery on both white and negro Americans.⁽³⁾

Meanwhile, the Edinburgh Cheever Committee, on which Eliza Wigham, William Stephenson, and other active Abolitionists were serving,⁽⁴⁾ carried on its campaign with a public/

(1) Black, an Independent by denomination, had taken a stand against the Free Church during the "send back the money" campaign - Shepperson, "The Free Church and American Slavery". . . 130, f.n.4.

(2) Scotsman, 29 Nov. 1860.

(3) Scotsman, 1 Dec. 1860. Present at this meeting were Charles Cowan (a leading Edinburgh Radical) and Rev. Cox and Peter Scott.

(4) Other Abolitionists active in the committee were William Duncan, Wm. Lillie, H.D. Dickie and J. Burn Murdoch. (Scotsman, Dec.7.).

public appeal for a "general, prompt and energetic" effort to raise funds to help Cheever's mission and to counteract the attacks of the pro-slavery party. Subscription lists were issued to sympathisers to collect from one shilling upwards.⁽¹⁾ Many churches supported the effort by continuing to invite Cheever to preach at services and taking up collections for him. Even the Establishment, which tended to be apathetic to Abolitionism and other radical causes, showed interest. On Dec. 2, for instance, Cheever preached at St. George's in Charlotte Square, where a collection was taken up "to sustain the Church of the Puritans in its warfare with the Word of God against slavery".⁽²⁾ He also extended his campaign to the provincial towns; the N.B. Daily Mail recorded that he had preached three times in Ayr on the 16th, and that "in the evening the Old Church was densely crowded to listen to the eloquence of this uncompromising advocate for the freedom of the African race."⁽³⁾

As the year drew to a close, the two Abolitionist groups engaged in further fund-raising, mostly to aid their respective counterparts across the Atlantic. The Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society sent £65 to the American Anti-Slavery Society (£60 for the subscription anniversary of the society and the rest for subscriptions to the Liberator and the Anti-Slavery Standard).⁽⁴⁾ In Glasgow, the/

(1) Advertisement in Scotsman, 7 Dec.

(2) Ibid, 1 Dec.

(3) NBDM, 19 Dec. Large collections were taken up for Cheever at all three services. At the same time a pamphlet entitled - "Statement on behalf of Dr. Cheever and his Church - with letter of concurrence by ministers of various denominations" - was advertised as being on sale at all Edinburgh booksellers. (e.g. Scotsman, 5 Jan. 1861)

(4) E. Wigham - Saml. May Jr., 15 Dec. 1860.

the New Anti-Slavery Society held their annual bazaar on the 25th and 26th of December in the Trades Hall. The bazaar, one of the major social events of the season in Glasgow, attracted large crowds, and raised between two and three hundred pounds, mostly from the sale of handwork by the Lady Abolitionists.⁽¹⁾

Meanwhile, ominous developments in America were forcing themselves on the attention of the Scottish public. The Edinburgh Review, in a discerning article published during the Presidential campaign, warned its readers of the overwhelming importance for Britain of the American crisis and deplored the fact that Britons were too wrapt up in ephemeral developments in Europe to be aware of this importance. At the same time, the Mercury recognised the quality of Lincoln and championed him from the first. The new President was viewed as embodying those ideals of Radical democracy which the paper espoused and now felt to be seriously threatened by the Southern rebellion. "From his history, his character, and his great popularity", declared the Mercury prophetically, "we are satisfied that if any man can save the Union, Lincoln is that man"; and his first inaugural address was characterised as "a most masterly production admirably suited to the crisis and one that has raised our high opinion of Lincoln still higher."⁽²⁾

The deepening crisis in America increased the concern of Scottish commercial circles over the question of the cotton supply, and Abolitionists attempted to take advantage of this anxiety to press schemes for economic warfare against/

(1) NBDM, 26 Dec.; Ibid, 27 Dec.

(2) Cal.Mer., 20 March.

against slavery. On December 5, the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce met with W.P. Paton in the chair to hear an address on the cotton supply by J. Lyons M'Leod, Honorary Secretary of the African Aid Association. M'Leod reiterated Delaney's proposals for colonising the West African coast with free American negroes who would develop an alternative cotton supply there and also bring civilisation to the natives. His address was received with approval by the Chamber, although both Paton and another merchant, James Watson, expressed concern as to whether the settlers would be received cordially by the natives.⁽¹⁾

The Mail, in particular, expressed ^{the} growing concern of Glasgow business men over the safety of the cotton supply and devoted many articles to warning of the need for developing alternate sources. It was particularly sympathetic to the plans of the African Aid Association to colonise West Africa with free negroes who would grow cotton.⁽²⁾ A great number of articles on the development of alternate cotton supplies were reprinted from other papers by the Mail during 1860-61. The favourite source of these articles was the Cotton Supply Reporter, organ of the Cotton Supply Association, a ginger group of Manchester business men who aimed at developing cotton production in Africa and India.⁽³⁾ The Mail warned continually that a civil war in America/

(1) NBDM, 6 Dec. 1860.

(2) e.g. 23 July 1860.

(3) Two sample of the titles of articles published during 1860 from the Cot.Sup.Reporter and other journals are: "Cotton from India" (20 Aug.); "Cotton Growing in Turkey and Syria" (12 Oct.).

America would be disastrous to the British economy⁽¹⁾ and deplored the fact that Glasgow and West of Scotland manufacturers were apathetic towards the efforts of Lancashire business men to develop Indian and African cotton.⁽²⁾

Sarah Remond was meanwhile continuing her Abolitionist campaign in Scotland and was presenting her audiences with her own interpretation of American events. On December 28, she spoke at an Edinburgh rally sponsored by the Ladies' Emancipation Society. Andrew Fyfe, a leading Edinburgh Radical, opened the proceedings with a denunciation of the secession movement, which, he hoped, would be opposed by the entire civilised world. Miss Remond then delivered a militant speech attacking the South for its arrogant attempts to dictate to the rest of the country, and the North for its cowardice in the face of Southern threats. She professed little faith in Lincoln, whose anti-slavery policy was far too mild for her to accept him as an Abolitionist.

She described Buchanan as "a consistent hater of the negro", and feared that his message to Congress might form the basis for another compromise which would settle the sectional dispute at the expense of the slaves. Taking a Garrisonian view of the Union, she expressed no concern over its dissolution, but only feared that the North might be led into another compromise to prevent secession. She maintained that "the dissolution of the Union -- would not be the calamity many believed. -- The experiment of a Republic had been a most consummate failure. It had never been a republic/

(1) e.g., NBDM, 23 July 1860.

(2) Ibid, 10 Oct.

republic for freedom; it had ever been a republic for slavery."⁽¹⁾

Another speaker was William Chambers, publisher of Chambers Journal, who had travelled in America in 1853 and had been converted to Abolitionism by watching a slave auction.⁽²⁾ He agreed with Miss Remond that the North was largely to blame in the present crisis for not opposing the extension of slavery from the start. He told how he had formed the opinion when in America that the slavery question could only be settled by a civil war or a slave insurrection, which he believed would occur if the secession movement were carried through. He warned that the slaveholders were now putting forward the doctrine that slavery was not only for coloured people but was the normal condition for all labour. He concluded by criticising British dependence on slave produce, and called on the Government to support the efforts of the Manchester men who were attempting to develop cotton in India. Resolutions were passed condemning American slavery and calling for Abolition and support was also expressed for Dr. Cheever.⁽³⁾

(1) Scotsman, 29 Dec. 1860.

(2) Chambers wrote two discerning books on the American situation in the 1850's: Things as they are in America (London and Edinburgh 1854), and American Slavery and Colour (London, 1857). In these works Chambers gave a highly unfavourable picture of slavery and warned that America was heading for a catastrophe. For Chambers' account of his conversion to Abolitionism in a Richmond slave market, see Things as they are in America, 273-86. Chambers' Journal frequently carried articles and stories based on anti-slavery themes, and during the Civil War was one of the few Scottish periodicals with pro-Federal leanings.

(3) Scotsman, 29 Dec. 1860. Also on the platform were Rev. Kirk, Rev. Dickie, C. Blair (a George St. confectioner) William Lillie, and George Laing.

On January 8 Miss Remond spoke at a large rally in the Glasgow Trades Hall on the "present Disunion Crisis in the United States." The meeting was evidently arranged by the Garrisonian party, for William Smeal took an active part in it. Miss Remond made an eloquent plea for the slave and demanded that "the nation which so long has oppressed her people shall be brought to the bar of public opinion and be made to render up an account. -- The American people have never recognised the black man as a brother or the black woman as a sister." She again denied that Lincoln or the Republican party were connected with the Abolitionist movement and maintained that there was a great difference in the approach of the two groups to the slavery question. However, she declared that the Abolitionist movement had been steadily advancing and that this fact was the underlying reason for the secession.⁽¹⁾

During this period the Scottish Church continued its efforts in behalf of Dr. Cheever. In February a crowded rally was held in the Queen St. Hall to express support for the American minister in the face of the efforts of the pro-slavery forces to discredit him. Guthrie and Candlish spoke for the Free Church and the Reverends Alexander and Andrew Thomson for the United Presbyterians. Dr. Guthrie who as principal speaker was frequently cheered by the audience, praised Cheever as "one of the noblest advocates of freedom that America has ever produced" and called upon the people of Edinburgh to respond in the manner of the Quaker/

(1) Seetman, ~~29 Dec. 1860~~. Also on the NBDM, 9 Jan. 1861.

Quaker who said, "I sympathise £500, how much do you sympathise?" Turning to the American situation, Dr. Guthrie expressed the hope that the crisis would not lead to bloodshed, but added that history showed that the oppressed "never got their rights until they took the wrong-doer by the throat. - - I never heard of any oppressor giving people their rights until he was forced to do so by the strong arm of power." Dr. Guthrie deplored the possibility of the dissolution of America and expressed his admiration for American democratic institutions. He concluded with the hope that America would "let the oppressed go free" Dr. Alexander, in moving a resolution of support for Cheever declared that Christianity was being discredited by the anti-Abolitionist American clergy, and rejoiced that there were no pro-slavery Christians in Scotland, although some were lukewarm on the subject. A resolution, moved by Sir Henry Moncrieff of the Free Church, expressing the conviction that the American crisis was caused by slavery, was passed unanimously. (1)

At a Glasgow Liberal meeting, a few days prior to the latter gathering, the anxieties felt by Scottish liberals over the threatened dissolution of the Union were given further expression. Mr. Buchanan, one of the city's M.P.s, expressed his anxiety over the American situation. "It must be a matter of great regret for all who are interested in the great Republic to see it threatened with dissolution at the hands of its own citizens," the M.P. told a gathering of his constituents, deploring the disappointment of hopes for a "great and rapid development of

(1) *Scottish Liberator*, 1850, p. 1. "I am so sure that the Conservative element will, if that's not enough to put Conservatism out of fashion, I know what will do it."

of America."⁽¹⁾ Attacking the violence and rashness of the slave states, he expressed the hope that moderation might still prevent a disruption. He further warned America that she would have no peace until she abolished slavery.⁽²⁾

The workings of the American slavery system were further underlined for the Scottish public by the Anderson case which first came into prominence in the early weeks of 1861. Anderson was a fugitive slave who had killed one of his pursuers in the course of his escape to Canada. The American government then charged Anderson with murder and attempted to extradite him under the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. A Canadian court ruled in favour of extradition. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society thereupon took up the case and sent out a circular to the various Abolitionist groups calling for protests. On January 10 Smeal and Paton drew up and forwarded to the Colonial Office a memorial urging that Anderson should not be given up.⁽³⁾ Journals of all political shades joined in protesting against the Canadian ruling. The Daily Mail called for a halt to the extradition proceedings⁽⁴⁾ and the Scotsman declared: "That one black man, even if he does not have the law on his side, has a nation at his back."⁽⁵⁾

During the winter, Scottish hospitality was extended to another fugitive slave, Francis Fedric. Fedric, who had been a slave for fifty years in Virginia and Kentucky, described/

-
- (1) This seems to reflect the fears of the many capitalists who had invested in America, particularly in state bonds and railway shares.
 (2) NBDM, 24 Jan. 1861.
 (3) GES Minute Books, 10 Jan. 1861.
 (4) NBDM, 16 Jan. 1861.
 (5) Scotsman, 10 Jan. See F. Landon, "The Anderson Fugitive Slave Case", Journal of Negro History, vol. for 1922, pp. 233-43.

described his experiences under slavery, and his eventual escape, to a large meeting in the Richmond St. Chapel in Edinburgh. (1)

At about the same time the political scene was further enlivened by a clash between two leading anti-slavery figures. Lord Brougham, who had evidently become alarmed at the trend of American events, had spoken out strongly against violent attempts at abolition, insisting that the law must always be observed by anti-slavery people. His stand was challenged by James Redpath, a leader of the extreme school of Abolitionists in America and author of the controversial biography of John Brown. In a letter to the Scotsman, Redpath quoted against Brougham some of his earlier radical speeches calling for revolt against oppression and resistance to unjust laws. (2) The challenge was taken up by a Brougham sympathiser who defended the old Radical's right to change his mind and quoted Emerson on Consistency. (3)

To the more conservative press, the events in America came as an unexpected confirmation of their political theories. Even before the secession of the South had attracted public attention to the political issues at stake in the American crisis, Blackwood's was looking to the society of the Southern states as containing many desirable features. An article on the South at this period drew a very/

(1) Scotsman, 20 Feb. 1861.

(2) Ibid, 13 Feb.

(3) Ibid, 15 Feb., letter signed "Leo".

very favourable picture of a society governed by cultured country gentlemen and described the slaves as ignorant, but happy and contented. The writer predicted that the South would not allow itself to be coerced by the vulgar democracy of the North, and expressed the opinion that it would be better for transatlantic trade if North and South were separated into "two noble republics".⁽¹⁾ The Tory Edinburgh Courant also expressed great admiration for the Southern aristocracy although it was, at first, not uncritical of slavery⁽²⁾ and particularly deprecated the racialist theories which were used to justify slavery.⁽³⁾

The Presidential campaign of 1860 did not arouse any unusual interest in Scotland, in spite of the general awareness of growing crisis in America. Most of the Liberals as well as the Garrisonian Abolitionists had for long regarded the major parties in America as hopelessly tainted with slavery. For instance, the liberal Daily Mail, which had long been critical of the pro-slavery policy of the Buchanan administration, saw little hope for the slave in the election of any candidates.⁽⁴⁾

Only the Edinburgh Review grasped the exceptional nature of the contest. In a discerning article on the campaign, the Edinburgh warned its readers of the overwhelming importance for Britain of the American crisis and/

(1) Blackwood's, Jan. 1860, 103-16.

(2) ~~James Cowles Fries, (1786-1848), English Anthropologist (see article in Dictionary of National Biography (henceforth DNB)).~~

(3) e.g., it attacked Buchanan for defending slavery in his message to Congress (21 Dec. 1860)

(3) e.g. Courant, 21 Nov.

(4) e.g. NBDM, 12 June 1860.

and deplored the fact that Britons were too wrapped up in ephemeral developments to be aware of this importance. The article warned of the grave threat to the cotton supply and referred to Soward's prediction of "irrepressible conflict" as well as to the Southern threats of secession. The writer set forth at length the wave of terrorism and repression which was being carried on by the slave holders against political and religious dissenters. Explaining that the issue of the campaign was whether slavery should continue to expand or to be restricted, the writer came down strongly on the side of the Republican Party, "which has now charged itself with the ancient liberties of the Republic".⁽¹⁾ The liberal press hailed Lincoln's victory. The Caledonian Mercury reacted with "a thrill of pleasurable excitement", and expressed the belief that "it may be the herald of many coming changes", such as the reversal of the Dred Scott decision and the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law.⁽²⁾ The N.B. Daily Mail suspended its Garrisonian aloofness for long enough to describe Lincoln's election as a great advance for the Abolitionist cause:-"A gleam of worldly prosperity has fallen on the banners of the noble army of anti-slavery martyrs". The paper called upon the Republicans for moderation and advised them to restrict the expansion of slavery and repeal the Fugitive Slave Law but not to attempt outright legal abolition.⁽³⁾

The/

(1) Edinburgh Review, CXII, 545-582 (Oct. 1860). Lincoln was described as "a shrewd and sensible politician of the homely sort - put forward by the ambition of the great Northwest which wants to send a President to Washington as the North and South have so often done."

(2) Cal. Mer., 20 Nov. 1860.

(3) Ibid, 24 Nov. 1860.

The Secession movement was originally attacked by all sections of the press which first minimised the movement as a bluff. The liberal Daily Mail, for example, denounced the separatists and expressed confidence that a compromise could be effected whereby slavery could be gradually and peacefully abolished.⁽¹⁾ The paper dismissed the idea that the Rebels could maintain themselves against a determined military effort by the Federal Government.⁽²⁾ The Whig Scotsman was consistently hostile to all American institutions - slavery, democracy, and in particular to the new high tariff policy of the Republicans.⁽³⁾ The paper therefore found little good to say for either section, and expressed the hope that it would not have to choose between free trade and the rights of man.⁽⁴⁾ At the same time, the Scotsman predicted that an independent South would be harried by slave revolts and by a Federal blockade and expressed the belief that these possibilities would give the Rebels second thoughts. The Tory Courant was equally opposed to the secession movement in its early stages, but on the ground that it represented a Rebellion against established authority.⁽⁵⁾ At the same time President Buchanan's pro-slavery policy and his vacillation in the face of secession were the subjects of much scathing comment in the Scottish press.⁽⁶⁾ The Radical Caledonian Mercury maintained that conflict between North and South was inevitable, the/

(1) NBDM, 20 Dec.1860. The Mail suggested a programme for gradual abolition involving money compensation and an apprentice scheme.

(2) NBDM, 24 Dec.

(3) e.g. Scotsman, 12 Dec.1860.

(4) Ibid, 8 March 1861.

(5) Scotsman, 4 Dec.1860.

(6) e.g., Scotsman, 21 Dec.1860; Cal.Mer., 9 Jan., 10 Jan., 29 Jan., 1861. On 13 March the Mercury summed up Buchanan's policy as "utterly corrupt and unprincipled"

the only question being, whether the struggle would be economic or military. In either case the cotton industry might come to grief for failing to heed the pleas for the development of sources of free cotton.⁽¹⁾ The Mercury also foresaw that British public opinion would "be one of the elements determining the result" of the struggle⁽²⁾, and warned that the Rebels would try to gain British support with the bait of free trade.⁽³⁾ The Mercury asserted that Abolition should be the chief aim of the struggle and that the preservation of the Union should be secondary. Attacking the policy of the Palmerston Government for not expressing the anti-slavery feelings of the masses, the paper warned that the people would accept no solution to the American crisis which did not involve emancipation. The Mercury argued that the Rebels were deluded in their belief that they might maintain themselves with British support and called upon the North not to be "cowed or overborne."⁽⁴⁾ Comparing the relative strength of the North and South, the paper concludes, "The nature of the verdict is undoubted. It must run to the effect that the Secessionists have no chance."⁽⁵⁾

(1) Cal.Mer. 10 Jan.1861.

(2) Ibid, 20 Feb. 1861.

(3) Ibid, 5 Dec.1860. Declaiming against this stratagem, the Mercury asserted: "Commerce must stand aside until Justice be satisfied. Cotton is good, but liberty is better."

(4) Cal. Mer., 5 Dec.1860.

(5) Ibid, 28 Jan.1861.

As the Secession spread and consolidated itself in the ensuing weeks, the liberals grew increasingly pessimistic over the possibility of saving the Union. By the end of the year the Mail declared that the South would have to be put down at once by force or allowed to go in peace and urged the British Government to encourage an amicable settlement. Reverting to its usual Garrisonian position, the Mail asserted that secession would remove slavery from the protection of the Union and advised the North to let the South go in the interest of the slaves.⁽¹⁾ By March, the Mercury was arguing that the Union could only be preserved by civil war, and that, although the North would win because of its superior resources, Lincoln could not rely on popular support for the suppression of the Rebellion.⁽²⁾ Although praising the firm stand taken against the Rebels by Lincoln, the paper reluctantly concluded that civil war was a worse evil than the dissolution of the Union.⁽³⁾

The Mercury was the one major paper in Scotland to recognise the quality of Lincoln and champion him from the first. The new President was viewed as embodying those ideals of democracy held by the Scottish Radical party. "From his history, his character, and his great popularity," the Mercury declared prophetically, "we are satisfied that if any man can save the Union, Lincoln is that man." His first inaugural address was characterised as "a most masterly production admirably suited to the crisis, and one that has raised our high opinion of Lincoln still higher."⁽⁴⁾

For most Scottish conservatives, whether Whig or Tory, the events in America appeared as an unexpected confirmation of/

(1) NBDM, 31 Dec. 1860.

(2) Cal. Mer., 13 March 1861.

(3) Ibid, 20 March.

(4) Ibid. At the same time the Scotsman attacked Lincoln's address for being too compromising on the slavery issue.
18 March

of their political theories. Even before the secession of the South had attracted public attention to the issues at stake in the American crisis, Blackwood's was describing the society of the South as containing many desirable features. The Southern ruling class were viewed as cultured country gentlemen and the slaves pictured as ignorant but happy and contented. The Maga. predicted that the South would not allow itself to be coerced by the vulgar democracy of the North and expressed the opinion that it would be better for transatlantic trade if North and South were separated into "two noble republics."⁽¹⁾ The Edinburgh Evening Courant also expressed great admiration for the Southern aristocracy, although it was at first not uncritical of slavery.⁽²⁾ and deprecated the racialist arguments used to defend the institution.⁽³⁾ Setting the key for the subsequent Tory attitude toward the war, the Courant declared that the American troubles were due to "unbridled democracy", and maintained that the country had become hopelessly corrupted by its political system.⁽⁴⁾ From the start the attitude of the Scottish Tories had strong domestic implications. At the outbreak of the war, for instance, the Courant was carrying on a furious campaign against the Free Church and the Scottish Radical party, both of which were described as representing the same nihilistic forces which were destroying America.⁽⁵⁾ The liberals were forced/

(1) Blackwood's, Jan.1860, 103-16.

(2) Courant, 21 Dec.1860. This same article also denounced Buchanan for defending slavery in his message to Congr.

(3) e.g.,Ibid, 21 Nov.1860.

(4) Courant, 30 March 1860.

(5) e.g.,Ibid, 8 March 1861.

forced, at some immediate disadvantage, to take up the challenge. The N.B.Daily Mail, for example, which had consistently advocated an extension of the franchise, answered that the conflict was caused by slavery and not by the workings of democracy or by any supposed depravity of the American character.⁽¹⁾ Regretting the fact that events in America "have given certain writers renewed opportunities for dumbfounding themselves and their readers with dreary disquisitions concerning aristocracy and democracy", the Mail described the secession as an attempt by the Southern aristocracy to destroy American democracy, rather than as an example of democracy destroying itself.⁽²⁾

This survey has brought us to the verge of the Civil War, and we may now briefly recapitulate the significant developments. After years of comparative failure, internal division and public apathy, the anti-slavery movement emerged to enjoy the most successful period since the emancipation of the West Indian slaves. The revolt and subsequent martyrdom of John Brown and the appeal of Dr. Cheever for aid against the persecution of the slave power evoked a powerful response from the Protestant conscience of Scotland. The Cheever case brought home to the Free Church the threat to religious freedom involved in the continued existence of the slave power, and thus led that denomination, the most powerful and vital in Scotland, to align itself with the anti-slavery forces. The sympathy of the new leaders of the Free Church was the most significant development for the Abolitionists during this period and/

(1) e.g. NBDM, 29 Nov. 1860.

(2) Ibid, 12 Jan. 1861.

and contrasts sharply with the collision between the two forces which occurred during the anti-slavery revival of 1846-47. The concern of business circles over the threat to the cotton supply which was implicit in the American crisis, was another factor which lay behind the great public interest in the slavery question, and the Abolitionists strove to channel this concern into constructive efforts to develop sources of free labour cotton in the colonies and also in the newly explored areas in Africa.

The anti-slavery revival was developed still further by the appearance in Scotland of such internationally-known Abolitionist orators as George Thompson, Frederick Douglass, and Sarah Remond. The Thompson-Douglass dispute showed the sharp divisions within the movement, but in this case the antagonism was a productive one. The public interest aroused by the two great orators was more than sufficient compensation for the passions aroused by the controversy, which was in any case confined to Glasgow. It did not leave such a legacy of bitterness and schism as the 1847 collision between the Free Church and the Abolitionists had left. One reason for this was the campaign in behalf of Dr. Cheever offering the rival Abolitionist groups a common platform upon which they could co-operate without any need to dispute over doctrinal differences or past wrongs. However, up to the very outbreak of the Civil War there continued to be a divergence of opinion between those who believed that the disintegration of the Union would serve the cause of emancipation, and those who, concerned over the fate of the American experiment in democracy as well as over Abolitionism, believed that the collapse of the Union would be radically detrimental to both causes.

CHAPTER II.

CLYDESIDE AND THE WAR AT SEA.

The growing shipbuilding industry of Clydeside was affected by the American Civil War and played an important part in the progress of the struggle. The Southern Confederates possessed little in the way of shipping or shipbuilding facilities, and Clydeside stepped forward to satisfy the needs of the Rebels in this field. Glasgow and the neighbouring shipbuilding ports furnished the largest proportion of the blockade-running fleet which kept the Rebellion supplied for four years and also built four ships of the Confederate Navy, as well as two other formidable warships which were eventually prevented from getting to sea.

Immediately upon the outbreak of the Rebellion in April 1861, Lincoln proclaimed the entire coastline in Rebel possession to be under a state of blockade. A few days later the blockade was extended to cover the coast of Virginia, North Carolina, and Texas - which states had joined the Confederacy subsequent to the initial proclamation of blockade. Only once before had there been a blockade on such a scale, namely during the Napoleonic War, when the British Navy had blockaded most of the European Continent. Lincoln's action seemed particularly foolhardy in view of the small numbers and obsolete nature of the American Navy, coupled with the fact that the European powers had pledged themselves against paper blockades by the Declaration of Paris in 1856, which might provide a further reason/

reason for intervening in the American conflict.

At first, of course, the blockade was practically nominal and could be run with little risk by almost any type of ship. However, the Northern shipyards responded with surprising energy, and within a few months a steady stream of up-to-date warships were steaming to sea to join the blockading fleet. At the same time, the Federal forces commenced a policy of launching amphibious attacks against the Southern ports and strategic coastal points, with the result that the American Navy was increasingly able to concentrate its forces along the contracting coastal areas occupied by the Confederacy. By the end of 1861 this economic str^anglehold had already become uncomfortable to the Confederacy, and it tightened inexorably with each succeeding month.

In the face of this unexpected threat, the Rebel leaders were forced to improvise hurriedly. Their primary object was, of course, to obtain warships powerful enough to engage the blockaders in open battle and, if possible, sink or disperse them. In the second place, the Confederates sought for cruisers which could attack the large and far-flung American merchant fleet and retaliate against the blockade by striking a damaging blow at the American economy, as well as drawing off warships from the blockading fleet. Several mediocre warships fell into Confederate hands at the outbreak of the Rebellion, and the Rebels contrived to build a few first-class warships in Southern parts during the course of the war. However, they were forced to look abroad for the bulk of the navy and particularly to Britain. A group of Confederate Officers under the/

the leadership of J.T. Bulloch, established themselves in Britain for this purpose during 1861.

Bulloch's attentions were first drawn to Clydeside in the autumn of 1861 when he was being pressed by the Richmond authorities to obtain a merchant ship strong enough and swift enough to bring out a large shipment of arms for the Confederate army in Virginia, which was at that time "very poorly armed". (1) At Greenock, Bulloch discovered a suitable ship, the newly built Fingal, which he bought for the Confederate Government, - she was, in fact, the first blockade runner to be owned by the Confederacy. On her outgoing voyage she took the largest shipment of arms ever to be brought into the Confederacy. (2) The Fingal attracted/

(1) She carried on account of the Confederate War Dept.: -
 10,000 Enfield rifles, 1,000,000 ball cartridges,
 2,000,000 percussion caps, 3,000 cavalry sabres and
 other equipment; a large amount of clothing material
 and medicine.

On account of the Navy Dept.: -
 1,000 short rifles with bayonets, 1,000 round of
 ammunition per rifle, 500 revolvers and ammunition,
 two 4½ inch rifled cannon with traversing carriages
 and equipment; 200 made up cartridges, shot and shell
 per gun; two 2½ steel rifled guns for boats or field
 service, with 200 rounds of ammunition per gun; 400
 barrels of gun powder; a large amount of seaman's
 clothing.

For the State of Georgia: -
 3,000 Enfield rifles.

For the State of Louisiana: -
 1,000 Enfield rifles. Ibid, 112.

attracted the attention of the American intelligence service while she was still loading at Greenock. Benjamin Moran, the First Secretary of the U.S. Embassy noted on 7th October she was "taking on a heavy cargo of contraband in great haste at Greenock",⁽¹⁾ and an American intelligence agent drew a sketch of her which was sent on to the U.S. to be copied or photographed for circulation among the blockading ships.⁽²⁾

The Fingal was duly loaded and in the late evening of 11th October she slipped out of the Clyde into a stormy sea. Her first stop was at Holyhead where she was to pick up Bulloch and other officers, but the weather was so bad that she did not reach that port until the early hours of the 15th. In entering Holyhead she rammed and sank the Austrian ship Sicciardi. Bulloch and his friends were awakened by a messenger from the Fingal, and, realising that they must leave before the customs men came aboard, they managed to get her to sea again before dawn. After a stormy voyage she reached Bermuda on 2nd November. After some repairs to the ship, Bulloch navigated her through the alerted blockading fleet (which nearly managed to capture her) and brought her into Savannah harbour.⁽³⁾ She was later renamed the Atlanta and transformed into a powerful armoured warship.⁽³⁾

(1) Journal of Benjamin Moran, II, 88.

(2) Official Records of the Rebellion (afterwards referred to as ORR) 130 N.O.S., Washington 1880-1901, s.1.VI. 368 (Morse-Seward, 11 Oct. 1861); the sketch referred to is reproduced in F.C. Bradlee, Blockade Running in the American Civil War, (Salem, 1926) p.52. In writing to Seward, Morse, the consul at London warned: "Her cargo is no doubt far more valuable than appears from the invoices of ammunition I sent you and consists of such articles as are now greatly needed by the Confederates, so say their agents here."

(3) For information on the Fingal's blockade running career see/ (contd. next page.)

Meanwhile the Confederates were pursuing their plans for acquiring cruisers to attack American marine commerce. The Alabama and the Florida put to sea from England in 1862, and early in 1862 Commander Maury was ordered to Clydeside to take command of a third cruiser newly completed at Dumbarton. This vessel, called at first the Virginia and then the Japan, sailed as the C.S.S. Georgia. She was described by the American consul at Glasgow as a "screw-steamer - about 500 tons register, built by Denny Brothers, Dumbarton - clipper-built - figure head, fiddle bow - short thick funnel - got a number of compartments forward on both sides from 8 to 10 feet square and stronger than a jail - strong doors to them with hinges about three inches thick and brass padlock accordingly - a strong magazine forward in the bow."⁽¹⁾ Scharf describes her as a "swift and powerful vessel of her class."⁽²⁾

At the time there was serious tension between Britain and America over the question of the cruisers built for the Confederacy, so that when Maury received information that the British Government was concerned about his ship, he hastened/

(1) Underwood-Seward, 30 March, 1863 (Glas.Cons.Reports). Underwood mistakenly surmised that she was intended to act as a tender to the Alabama.

(2) Scharf, op.cit., 803-4.

(contd. f.n.2 from previous page): see- Bulloch, I, 111-15; Prettyman-Seward, 18 Oct. 1861 (Glasgow consular reports in the library of Congress); and references in The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion (afterwards referred to as O.R.N.) 2nd series.

f.n.3 from previous page: For the naval career of the Fingal-Atlanta, see T. Scharf, History of the Confederate States Navy, 637-45.

hastened his departure. After the Georgia sailed from Greenock on 1st April, orders arrived from London to detain her.⁽¹⁾ Meanwhile the Georgia's crew of fifty had been recruited at Liverpool by Jones and Company, a firm which had close ties with the Confederacy and handled the financial affairs relating to the Georgia, such as the payment of enlistment bonuses to her sailors and half pay to the sailors' wives while the vessel was at sea.⁽²⁾ Jones and Co. sent up a skeleton crew to take her from Greenock to Liverpool where the full complement was taken aboard. The Georgia then sailed for a rendezvous with her tender, the Alar, which she met off Ushant on the French coast. There, in a quiet inlet, her battery was shipped aboard - five Whitworth guns; two 100 pounders, two 24 pounders, and one 32 pounder. Several Confederate officers also came aboard from the Alar. Maury then officially took command, hoisted the rebel flag, and called upon the crew to volunteer for the Confederate Service. Much to Maury's chagrin, only thirteen of the crew volunteered; the rest demanded to be taken back to Britain. However, a number of sailors from the Alar were signed on, and those of the original crew who refused to join returned home on the Alar and subsequently gave/

(1) Ibid. It is not stated how Maury received this information, but the circumstances indicate the possibility that he may have been informed by some sympathisers in the Government.

(2) see, Foreign Office Documents, Public Record Office, under the heading "Case of the Virginia or Japan". These include affidavits made by various members of the crew and their wives concerning the career of the Georgia and the activities of Jones and Company in connection with her. See also Foreign Relations of the United States, State Dept. Washington 1863-4, I, 21-35.

gave evidence on the Georgia to the Americans.

The Georgia then headed for sea and commenced her career as a commerce destroyer. After an extensive cruise in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, she put into Cherbourg on October 18. During her voyage she captured or destroyed the following American vessels:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Vessel</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Property destroyed etc.</u>
25th April 1863.	<u>Dictator</u>	ship	vessel etc.
8th June	<u>George Griswold</u>	"	bonded
13th June	<u>Good Hope</u>	bark	vessel, etc.
25th June	<u>Constitution</u>	ship	"
28th June	<u>City of Bath</u>	"	"
16th July	<u>Prince of Wales</u>	"	bonded
October	<u>John Watt</u>	"	"
9th October	<u>Bold Hunter</u>	vessel etc.	vessel, etc. (1)

After lying in Cherbourg for some months, the Georgia was brought to Liverpool, where the Confederates decided that she was no longer fit for war service. (2) Meanwhile, the American authorities had begun to collect evidence concerning the Georgia (3), and a strong protest was made by C.F. Adams to Lord Russell on December 7. (4) On

(1) Scharf, 818.

(2) O.R.N., s.2, I, 518. Barron-Mallory, 10 Nov. 1863. For further details concerning the Georgia, Morgan, op.cit.

(3) For. Rel., . . . 21.

(4) Underwood-Seward, 24 Dec. 1863.

'Recollections of a Rebel
Reefers'

On 1 June 1864, the Georgia, her guns having been dismantled, was sold to Edward Bates, a pro-Confederate businessman of Liverpool. Suspecting that this transaction was merely a Rebel stratagem, the American Navy seized her after she had put to sea again on August 11. (1)

The depredations of the Georgia, although not so extensive as those of the Alabama and Florida, contributed considerably to the tension between Britain and America over the question of the British-built Confederate cruisers. For years the American government accused Britain of responsibility for the Georgia's work, but at the Geneva Arbitration in 1872, Britain was finally absolved from all blame in the case. (2)

Two other warships, the cruiser Pampero and a powerful ironclad ram, were built for the Confederates by J.&G. Thomson/

-
- (1) see ORN, . . . 594-5, (Mallory-Barron, 24 Feb. 1864); 650-1 (Barron-Mallory, 4 May); 652 (Barron-Mallory, 12 May); 663 (Bulloch-Mallory, 3 June); 713 (Bulloch-Mallory, 21 Aug.). "Extracts received by Acting Rear Admiral S.P. Lee", 17 June, 16 Aug., 7 Sept. (Glas. const. records). "Case of the Virginia or Japan" (FRO), F.O. 5/1333.
- (2) see Foreign Relations and F.O. papers, loc.cit.; Foreign Office documents relating to the Geneva Arbitration, F.O. 5/1390-1427, which include the log book of the Shenandoah (F.O. 5/1414). Subsequent to the Georgia's escape, the British Government tried two men belonging to the firm of Jones and Co. for violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819. They were convicted and fined £50 each. One of the Georgia's officers, J. Morgan, has left a colourful account of her cruise. Recollections of a Rebel Reefer, London O.M., L.g. 1918. This book was written a number of years after the war, and some of the more hair-raising incidents may be treated with some reserve - the tales of ancient mariners tend to become embellished over the years. However, in the main, account of life on a Rebel cruiser corresponds with accounts of other former Confederate naval officers. See also affidavits of Benjamin Connolly, Catherine Stanley et al., For. Rel., loc.cit.

Thomson of Finnieston.⁽¹⁾ In the spring of 1862, while the Confederates were developing their policy of building warships abroad, Commander North of the Rebel Navy received orders to arrange for the building of an iron clad in Britain. After some conversations with George Thomson of the shipbuilding firm of J. & G. Thomson of Finnieston, North decided to place his contract with the latter firm and wrote to George Thomson from London asking him to start on the models, plans and specifications of the ship.⁽²⁾ George Thomson travelled to London to consult with North concerning the plans. As the technique of building armoured ships was then in its infancy, considerable alterations had to be made before the final plans were drawn up.⁽³⁾ The full specifications were finally drawn up on 20th May. They provided for a vessel of 3200 tons, which would be as powerful as any warship then afloat - the two ironclads which Bulloch was laying down at the same time/

(1) see J. Shields, Clydebuilt, Glasgow, 1949, p. 42. Owsley in his chapter on "The Building of the Confederate Navy in Europe" mentions these two ships, but he has used only ORN and has not consulted any of the source material in Britain (e.g. the F.O. papers).

(2) ORN, s.2, II, 182 (North-Thomson, 11 April 1862).

(3) It was necessary to increase the width of the ship to 50 feet in order to get a displacement of weights which would prevent the draft of water from becoming so great that the vessel would be unable to operate in the shallow waters off the Southern coast. It was also necessary to arrange for the coal bunkers, when empty, to carry 400 tons of water ballast to compensate for the weight of the iron plating.

time in Liverpool (which were to be known in Anglo-American diplomatic history as "the Laird rams"), (1) were only about half the size of the Clyde ship. (2)

A despatch sent by North to Mallory near the end of the year gives a brief but interesting description of the Clyde ram. "Her principal dimensions" wrote North, "are as follows, viz: length 270 feet on load line; 50 feet breadth of beam molded; depth molded to upper deck, 130 feet, to main deck, 122 feet; tonnage, builders' measurement 3200; keel and stem are made of hammered scrap iron, 14 x 4. The entire frame will be of iron, her plating on bottom from 15/16 to 11/16 armour plating, 4½ inches thick except/

-
- (1) E.D. Adams, Great Britain and the American Civil War, II, 116-51; Bulloch, op.cit.; Brooks Adams, "The Seizure of the Laird Rams", Journals of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Association, XLV, 208 et seq.; F. Adams, "The Laird Rams", (JPMHA XIII, 177-96, all references to the JPMHA are to the 2nd series). See also J.P. Baxter, The Introduction of the Ironclad Warships, Cambridge, Mass., 1933 - the definitive work on the subject, and Owsley, 420.
- (2) ORN, s 2, II, 191-2, (Thomson-North, 9 May 1862); for the specifications see pp.193-8.

except at extremes, where it will taper off to 3 inches to be backed by 18 inches of teak, all secured to inner plating $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. The iron plating to extend 4 feet below load line. She will also have water-tight bulk-heads. Her engines are to be horizontal, direct acting of 500 horse power, capable of working up to 2000. The coal bunkers to carry 1000 tons of coal. In the construction of this vessel I have taken my ideas of armour plating teakbacking etc. from the Warrior target⁽¹⁾ which up to the time of my signing the contract had stood the test better than any other. Her armament will consist of the Whitworth and Smoothbore, large calibre".⁽²⁾

The contract was finally signed on 21st May, North agreed to pay when a certain stage in the ship's construction was completed.⁽³⁾

(1) British naval target.

(2) ORN,...315-9 (North-Mallory, 22 Dec.1862).

(3) The instalments were to be paid as follows:

about the time due in months	amount	state of construction
1	£18,000	on signing the agreement,
3	£12,000	when keel of vessel is laid
5	£18,000	when vessel is half in frame,
6	£22,000	when vessel is fully in frame,
7	£22,000	when vessel is half plated
8	£18,000	when vessel is fully "
9	£18,000	when teak backing for armour plates is fitted
10 $\frac{1}{2}$	£18,000	when vessel is launched,
	£18,000	when vessel is delivered complete in accordance with specifications. (<u>ORN</u> , <u>loc. cit.</u> 199).

The Thomsons pledged to complete her by 1st June, 1863. North paid the first instalment and placed the second so as to be at the disposal of the Thomsons when it became due.⁽¹⁾ The building of the ship was then begun.

The work of the Confederate agents in Britain, however, suffered considerably from disagreement and indecision. All of them were very anxious to take command of a ship at sea and viewed with disdain the prospect of staying ashore engaged on the tedious work of supervising the building of warships which might end up under the command of other officers. As the Alabama neared completion at Liverpool, both North and Bulloch wished to leave their respective ironclads and take to sea in command of the new cruiser. Bulloch came to believe that they should concentrate on cruisers of the Alabama class, rather than ironclads, and he was particularly critical of the vessel for which North had contracted, as being too expensive and too large to be used efficiently in Southern coastal areas. At the same time, both men were the object of vague and conflicting orders from the Confederate Naval Department, the despatches of which were often delayed for weeks by the blockade and sometimes never came through. In June Bulloch received a letter from the Navy Department asserting that North was to be given command of a ship. Bulloch then wrote to North to come to Liverpool with a view to taking over the Alabama.⁽²⁾

Before/

(1) ORN, loc.cit., 199.

(2) ORN, loc.cit., 207, (North-Bulloch) 14 June; 208-9.

Before going to Liverpool, North went to Glasgow to arrange the transfer of his contract to Bulloch.⁽¹⁾ The Thomsons were disturbed and suspicious over this sudden change of plans and warned North that the transfer of the contract would disturb their confidence in the transaction and cause them to adhere "strictly to the letter of the contract in respect of our payment".⁽²⁾

But the threat had no effect on North, who, in his eagerness to obtain command of the Alabama, had temporarily lost all interest in the Clyde ship.⁽³⁾ Bulloch agreed to take over the contract for the latter as soon as Thomson signed an agreement to that effect.⁽⁴⁾ The contract was duly transferred to Bulloch in the beginning of July⁽⁵⁾, but much to North's annoyance, a despatch from the Navy Department a few days later awarded the command to Captain Semmes.⁽⁶⁾

North, in a sulky mood, turned his thoughts again to the Clyde ram. As she represented something of a pioneering venture in naval architecture, she raised some special/

(1) op.cit., 208, (North-Thomson) 18 June.

(2) op.cit., 208, (Thomson-North, 18 June).

(3) op.cit., 209, (North-Bulloch, 26 June).

(4) op.cit., 208-9, (Bulloch-North, 28 June).

(5) op.cit., 212-3, (North-Mallory, 5 July).

(6) op.cit., 213, (Bulloch-North, 8 July); and 214, (do. 10 July).

special problems. A ram was a warship possessing a sharp iron projection on her bow with which she could ram into and sink her opponents - a favourite naval tactic at this period.⁽¹⁾ Up to this time the ram, or prow, had been placed at or above the water line; this was the contemporary practice in the British Navy, and North planned for his ship to be constructed in similar fashion. George Thomson, however, foresaw that the introduction of armourclad warships presented a new problem in this respect; the impact of heavy iron plating on an assailing vessel might well cave in the whole forward part of the latter. Thomson consequently planned to put the prow six or seven feet below the water line so that it would strike an opponent below her armour. As the prow was six feet long, by the time the attacking stem came into contact with the armour plate of the opponent, the shock would be considerably diminished, and Thomson was convinced that, with careful strengthening, the forepart would be undamaged by the collision. He also favoured a conical shape for the prow so that she could be withdrawn from the opponent with less chance of being broken off. In submitting these plans to North, Thomson declared that: "My intentions are to complete the whole ship, and more especially the stem and prow, of such strength that it will be almost impossible to crush it when running down any other vessel, of the same class even. I really think/

(1) The development of the torpedo in subsequent years put an end to the practice.

(2) ~~op.cit.~~, 223, (Bulloch

think the plan I am carrying out is superior to any other I have yet seen or heard of."⁽¹⁾ Bulloch, however, continued to maintain that she was too large, expensive, and deep-drafted for the Confederate service.⁽²⁾ North also informed Mallory, the Rebel Naval Secretary, that "In contracting for so large a vessel I am not consulting my own judgement, or carrying out my own view, but those of the department, reiterated to me in my instructions."⁽³⁾ At the same time, Mallory, who had just received the news that North had contracted for the Clyde ship, ordered the latter to remain in Britain to supervise her construction.⁽⁴⁾

During the latter part of the summer, the problems of financing the building of the Clyde ship forced itself with increasing intensity on the Confederate agents. North had received a remittance for \$150,000, with which he had paid his first two instalments,⁽⁵⁾ and Bulloch was sent \$800,000 to be distributed for the various ships which were under way, and was promised an additional sum.⁽⁴⁾ However, as the Confederate currency was rapidly depreciating, it soon became practically impossible to purchase exchange. Confederate money bonds received no support in Britain,⁽⁶⁾ and at the beginning of August, North warned Mallory/

(1) op.cit., 218-20, (Thomson-North, 17 July).

(2) op.cit., 223, (Bulloch-Mallory, 21 July).

(3) op.cit., 228, (North-Mallory, 25 July).

(4) loc.cit., (Mallory-North 25 July); the money was sent through Fraser, Trenholm & Co., the chief financial agents of the Confederacy in Britain.

(5) op.cit., 223, (Bulloch-Mallory, 23 July).

(6) E.D. Adams. op.cit., II, 156-7.

Mallory that his ship would cost between two and two and a half million dollars, and that only a quarter of that sum was available in Britain for payments. He reported that the construction of his ship would be half in frame by early September and put forward the suggestion that the Rebel government should issue bonds based on cotton, which bonds, he believed, he could dispose of successfully in Britain.⁽¹⁾ On 6th August, he informed Mallory that the third payment on the ship was due and urged the Naval Secretary to send over the remainder of the £200,000 which he estimated she would cost.⁽²⁾ On 1st September, the Thomsons announced that the vessel would be half in frame in ten days at which time the third instalment would be due.⁽³⁾

In September, the Clyde ram first came to the attention of the American consul in Glasgow, who reported upon her progress after making a personal visit to the shipyard. He warned Seward that "she will be a formidable vessel, equal in her protection against shot to anything yet afloat." He declared that it was rumoured among the workers at Thomson's yard that she was intended for the Confederacy, and that she was referred to by the workers as the Merrimac. The consul's suspicions were further aroused/

(1) ORN, loc.cit., 233, (North-Mallory, 3 August).

(2) loc.cit., 234, (North-Mallory, 6 August).

(3) loc.cit. 257, (J. & G. Thomson - North, 1 September).

aroused when the foreman, who readily provided information about the other ships there, refused to give any information about the suspected vessel, except that she had no name as yet and was not intended for the British, Spanish or French governments.⁽¹⁾ Prettyman promised to watch her closely and a week later reported that "I have made such arrangements as will enable me in the future to discover every circumstance that may transpire tending to throw light upon her destination."⁽²⁾ The Americans were indeed developing a very efficient intelligence system in Britain to check the activities of the Rebel agents.⁽³⁾ As early as August 1861, Bulloch complained to Mallory that all of his activities were known to the Americans and that "The U.S. consuls employ special detectives for the purpose."⁽⁴⁾

Meanwhile/

- (1) Prettyman - Seward, 9 Sept.
- (2) Ibid, 16 Sept.
- (3) This was contemporaneous with the development of modern detective work in America under the new Republican administration, which produced the Pinkerton Agency during the course of the war and later used it as a repressive instrument against the labour movement.
- (4) ORN, loc.cit., 84 (Bulloch - Mallory, 13 August 1861). From time to time, Prettyman received information from the workers at Thomsons' yard concerning the Confederate warships building there, (e.g. Prettyman - Seward 16 Sept. 1862) - see also Glas. cons. Reports, 1861-6, passim.

Meanwhile, the Confederates were planning to build another cruiser on Clydeside, and in September 1862, Lt. George Sinclair arrived in Britain to supervise the project. Bulloch's shipbuilding fund was by now nearly exhausted⁽¹⁾ and the Rebel agents decided to issue cotton bonds, as North had previously suggested. James Mason, the Confederate diplomatic agent in Britain arranged for Lindsay & Co. (a Liverpool firm involved with the Confederacy) to place a number of cotton bonds to the sum of £60,000 on cotton priced at 8d per pound and requested the Confederate government to endorse this action.⁽²⁾ Mallory expressed to Bulloch his great concern over the difficulty of sending money to pay for the warships and attempted later to lay the blame for the crisis on the Treasury Department. He suggested that Bulloch offer to pay for the ships with 8% interest in cotton, or alternatively, to propose that the Rebel government should buy and store cotton for the builders equal in price to the ships. Mallory's letter indicates how befuddled the Confederates were in the face of the financial and economic problem with which they were faced as a consequence of their rebellion. Mallory took refuge from these unpleasant realities in a cloud of romantic rhetoric and concluded his despatch to Bulloch: "Not a day, not an hour must be lost in getting these ships over, and money is of no consequence in comparison with the speedy accomplishment of this work. If we can succeed in getting them to sea, armed, manned, and equipped, we would go to New Orleans at once and regain the Mississippi. With/

(1) E.D. Adams, op.cit., II, 156-7,

(2) ORN, loc.cit., 531-2 (Mason - Mallory, 18 Sept.); E.D. Adams, loc.cit.

With you, North, and Terry Sinclair who is with you, each in command of an ironclad ship, the river would be open to you, and you would reap imperishable renown in restoring ~~the~~ the Crescent City to our arms."⁽¹⁾

Meanwhile, the American consul in Glasgow was continuing his intelligence work in regard to the Clyde ironclad. On 27th September he reported: "I have everything connected with the ironclad steam frigate under close surveillance, and I hope to collect sufficient evidence to enable me to arrest and condemn her before she is ready for her native element."⁽²⁾ For this purpose Underwood employed a number of agents to watch the 30 mile length of the river and the 24 shipyards on it⁽³⁾, and also hired detectives to follow Confederate agents.⁽⁴⁾ He continued to make personal visits to the ironclad from time to time in order to keep the State Department informed about her progress. In October he reported that: "No further information has yet been procured, but the train is laid that will explode the secret."

During October, Lt. George Sinclair, who had arrived in Britain the previous month, was making arrangements with J. & G. Thomson for the building of the new Rebel cruiser, which was ^{later} to be later named the Pampero. She was/

(1) ORN, loc.cit. 269-371, (Mallory - Bulloch, 20 Sept.).

(2) Prettyman - Seward, 27 Sept.

(3) Ibid, 30 Sept.

(4) Ibid, 20 Oct.

was to be built along the lines of the Alabama, although she was to be larger and of greater horsepower. The ultimate ownership of the vessel was disguised by making use of several intermediaries. The initial contract for the ship was signed between the Thomsons and Edward Pembroke, a London shipping broker, who (1) agreed to pay £46,000 in five equal instalments for her.

Pembroke then contracted to sell her to Sinclair for £51,250, payable in the form of 246 cotton certificates (each valued at £208:6:8d). Sinclair was to pay the certificates in five instalments: when the contract was signed; when the ship was half in frame and the cylinder cast; when fully framed and the planking half on; when launched and the machinery ready; and when delivered after the trial trip. Pembroke also agreed to buy further eighteen cotton certificates at a total price of £3750. Pembroke then transferred most of his interests in both contracts to a group of pro-Southern capitalists: Smith/

(1) Thomson-Pembroke, 10 Oct. 1862; Pembroke-Thomson, 17 Oct. (F.O. papers).

(1)
 Smith Fleming & Co. of London, Robert Simpson, London;
 Edgar Pinchback String, London; Alexander Collie of Glas-
 gow and Manchester, (one of the leading blockade running
 profiteers and contributors to pro-Southern agitation in
 Britain)⁽²⁾; James Galbraith of Glasgow; and Peter
 Denny,⁽³⁾ the pro-Southern shipbuilder of Dumbarton.
 This group took also over the eighteen cotton certifi-
 cates.

Work upon the Pampero was thereupon commenced. She
 was to be built along the lines of the Alabama, although
 she was to be larger and of greater horse power. She
 had the makings of a truly formidable warship, and North
 was justifiably proud of her as he watched her steadily
 taking shape.⁽⁴⁾

Work was also proceeding steadily on North's iron-
 clad. When forwarding the drawings of the ship to
 Mallory, he expressed the hope that she would be finished
 by the following May and urged that a full complement
 of/

(1) A firm with Scottish connections. See Marwick, op. cit., 101.

(2) See Bradlee, op.cit., passim, also Adams, op.cit., II, 189; also Shields, op.cit., 104.

(3) See Marwick, op.cit., 51, 62, 65-6, 104, 151, 162, 166, 174-5, 193, 22. Also D. McLeod, Dumbarton, Vale of Leven and Loch Lomond, Dumbarton, 1884.

(4) see following page.

of officers be sent out in time.⁽¹⁾ In November, North sent out to Richmond a copy of the contract for her. He referred to the looseness of its construction (a fact which he was later to regret) but mentioned in extenuation the fact that the Thomsons were a first class firm and that at the time of entering into the agreement he had had no money, and the Thomsons were willing to allow him a certain amount of leeway in the payments. North had now moved to Scotland to supervise in person the work on the vessel. Captain Wilkinson, a prominent Confederate naval officer, who later commanded the famous Clyde-built blockade runner, the R.E. Lee, came to Glasgow to inspect the ironclad, and North gave him a wooden model of her to take back to Richmond.⁽²⁾ On 18th November, George Thomson asked for the next instalment, announced that the plating of the forebody had begun, and predicted that, if the weather remained good she would be half plated by New Year.⁽³⁾ The instalment was/

(1) Ibid, 269, (North - Mallory, 26 Sept.).

(2) ORN, loc.cit., 295-6 (North -Mallory, 11 Nov.)

(3) Ibid, 301, (North - Bulloch, 24 Nov.).

f.n.4. previous page: ORN, loc.cit., 295-6 (North-Mallory, 11 Nov.). Bulloch's memoirs, written twenty years later, contain an error concerning the Pampero. He asserts that Sinclair came to Britain and contracted for her "in June or July 1863". (Bulloch, op.cit. II, 272-3) This error is repeated by S.A. Wallace and E. Gillespie in The Journal of Benjamin Moran, II, 1230, f.n.4.

(1)
was paid out of Bulloch's fund.

The cotton bonds which were sent over for Spence to sell, were intended to pay first of all for the ship on which Bulloch and North had contracted, but Bulloch warned North to submit a fairly specific estimate of the amount of money he would need, for a number of other Confederate agents were anxious to draw upon the proceeds of the bonds. While Spence was attempting to sell bonds, it was undesirable that other Confederate agents should attempt to raise money in similar fashion, but Bulloch warned that his own funds were nearly exhausted and that, if Spence failed to sell the bonds quickly, he (Bulloch) would have to try to raise money from Southern sympathisers on his own initiative.

Bulloch was dubious over Mallory's plans to finance the warships by selling cotton. He warned that: "The uncertainty of the transaction seems likely to deter buyers. They fear the continuance of the blockade and the casualties of the war and are loth to risk their money except on such terms as will be ruinous to us should there be a continued demand for money. There is a difference between/

(1) Ibid, 301 (North-Bulloch, 24 Nov.).

between the present circumstances and those under which the cotton warrants were issued for Lt. Sinclair's ship. The amount required was comparatively small; the parties who ostensibly bought the cotton were in fact the contractors for the ship. I believe no money has yet been actually paid and the ship will always remain as security for final payment or the delivery of cotton. The contracts of Commander North and myself, as well as those of the War Department, require cash and cash only, so that sales on our account must be bona fide and for money.⁽¹⁾"

While the Rebel agents were casting about to acquire the funds necessary to complete their projects, a new threat loomed on the horizon. The defeat of the Confederates at Antietam had shaken the faith of the British ruling class in Southern invincibility, and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation stirred the sympathies of the British masses. The Cabinet began to listen more closely to C.F. Adams' persistent diplomatic campaign against the Southern warships in British ports. At the end of November, Bulloch wrote to North: "Heretofore I have been very sanguine about getting the first of my ships to sea, but/

(1) Ibid, 309-11, (Bulloch-Mallory, 18 Dec.).

but something of vital importance to us is brewing at the Foreign Office, and I fear the English ministry are about to forbid any shipment of supplies or the sailing of vessels for the service of either belligerent, and they will, I fear, issue restrictions in such a form as will prevent any British subject aiding us."⁽¹⁾ Mallory also wrote of his concern over this matter and urged North to "deprive the British Government of all decent pretexts for intervening".⁽²⁾

By the latter part of November, the forward state of the ram encouraged North to begin negotiations for acquiring arms and other equipment for her. His interest was drawn to the work of the Whitworth Ordnance and Rifle Company of Manchester, who were pioneering in the manufacture of rifled artillery and also experimenting with steel shot and shell.⁽³⁾ North admired their work but wrote to Bulloch: "I must confess his charges frighten me. To think of £700 for each gun and £5 for each flat-head shell almost takes away one's breath. If you are flush/

(1) Ibid, 303-5 (Bulloch-North, 26 Nov.).

(2) Ibid, 308 (Mallory-North, 13 Dec.).

(3) ORN, loc.cit., 300 (North-Bulloch, 21 Nov.).

flush in funds I shall certainly order some of them".⁽¹⁾
 North proceeded to negotiate with Whitworth for four
 70pdrs. together with ammunition, carriages and other
 equipment, to be delivered in four months time.⁽²⁾

The Richmond authorities had meanwhile agreed to honour the bonds issued to pay for the Pampero and also issued a number of cotton certificates (or "warrants") based upon cotton in the possession of the Confederate Government. Mallory wrote to Bulloch on 3rd November, modifying his suggestion of 20th September, and describing the issue of the cotton certificates by the Treasury Department. He promised to make advances "to a limited extent" to the Confederate agents abroad, but instructed Bulloch to make use of the certificates if they were⁽³⁾ needed to make payments on the warships. James Spence, the leading pro-Southern apologist in Britain, was named as the official agent to dispose of these bonds although he did not actually sell any. About one million dollars worth were sold by other Confederate agents./

(1) Ibid, 301, (North-Bulloch, 24 Nov.). North had now established himself at Bridge of Allan. The flatheaded shells mentioned in this letter were intended for use against the new armoured warships. (vid. article "Whitworth Guns vs. Steam Rams", Times, 23 Sept.)

(2) Ibid, 301, 303-5, 308, 309, 319-20, 323-42.

(3) Ibid, 288-9 (Mallory-Bulloch, 3 Nov.).

(1) agents. In order to systematise the policy of raising loans on cotton, the Confederates entered into negotiations with the European firm of Erlanger and Co. for the floating of a fifteen million dollar cotton loan, which would be used to support the Confederate activities in Europe. An agent of Erlanger went to Richmond to negotiate with the Confederate Government, but nothing was heard of him for some time, and on 18 December Bulloch warned that they would have to sell cotton certificates by the end of the month. He believed that enough money might be raised from the certificates to pay for the three ironclads, but not enough to support all the other activities of the Confederates in Europe. He wrote to North that: "People seem reluctant to risk their money upon so uncertain a speculation as buying an article shut up by a blockading fleet and subject to the casualties of war. The cotton certificates given out by Mr. Mason for Sinclair's ship (the Pampero) do not appear to have been a sale strictly speaking, because no money has been paid and the contractors will always have the ship as a security for the money expended. Our necessities require cash to be actually paid in/

(1) E.D. Adams, op.cit., II, 158; ORN, loc.cit., 530, (Mason-Benjamin, 18 Sept.). See also F. Owsley, King Cotton Diplomacy, 387-406.

in hand for the certificates of cotton ownership on the other side of the Atlantic, and I am very fearful that we cannot realise the amount we desire, because of the wants of others that must be provided for at the same time". He added that Mallory, in his latest despatch, did not seem to be aware that he (Bulloch) was paying for North's ship. Bulloch proposed to borrow small sums from Southerners who had made money on the rise of cotton prices and wait to see whether Spence sold any bonds or whether the Erlanger loan was negotiated. As a last alternative he would try to sell cotton himself through Fraser, Tfenholm & Co. "to the speculative men in Manchester and elsewhere." He urged North to send an estimate of what he needed so as to stake out a claim (1) for money made by any of these methods.

North agreed with this plan of action. He was particularly concerned because his ship was expected to be fully plated by the end of January, at which time therefore, another payment would become due. He was impatient at the fumbling financial tactics of the Confederacy and disputed the contention of Bulloch and Mason that if they went ahead and sold cotton on their own account they would be competing against each other on the market./

market. This would not be the case, he argued, as long as they agreed beforehand on the price of any certificate they might issue.

"I could have raised all the money I wanted and more when I was in London and think I can do so now... I am willing that anyone may be the agent to raise funds, but I am not willing to risk my reputation by the failure of my contract, and although I may be willing to weigh the opinion of others, still I do not consider myself bound by those opinions... In London I yielded to the to the general voices and have regretted it ever since as I am sure I saw my way clear to a much larger sum than I really wanted. Pray, whatever is to be done, let it be done quickly as my wants are many and most urgent. In the rough estimate I have made I think even after the payment you are about to make I shall require for my wants about £150,000.⁽¹⁾

North also argued that Mallory was aware of the money that was needed to complete the Clyde ironclad and that it was to come out of funds assigned to Bulloch/

f.n.1 previous page: ORN, loc.cit. 311-2 (Bulloch -North, 18 Dec.).

(1) Ibid, 313-4 (North-Bulloch, 22 Dec.).

(1)
 Bulloch. Due to the financial uncertainty North had still not contracted for his guns, and he realised he would have to put the order in quickly if the guns were to be ready for June. On 22 December he wrote to Whitworth asking for four 120pdrs. with ammunition and equipment if these could be finished by 1st June, and (2)
 if not he agreed four 70pdrs.

(3)
 Bulloch welcomed North's proposal to sell cotton and declared he would not have opposed the latter's proposal to sell cotton (made at the council of Confederate agents mentioned above), had he known the latter had received a specific offer. He urged North to go ahead and sell immediately, but to insist on cash payment for the certificates. Bulloch reported that he himself had met a number of people generally interested in the cotton certificates but had received no (4)
 cash offers. A few days later the money shortage became more acute and Bulloch was unable to draw any more on Fraser, Trenholm & Co. before the end of the year. He was thus forced to inform the Thomsons that he/

(1) Ibid, 313-4 (North-Bulloch, 22 Dec.).

(2) Ibid, 315, (North-Manchester Ordnance & Rifle Co. 22 Dec.).

(3) @ 8 to 10 cents per pound.

(4) Ibid, 319, (Bulloch-North, 23 Dec.).

he could not pay them any more of the money due them for the Clyde ram until after 1st January 1863. He was attempting to raise money privately, and asked North to submit a statement of how much he needed for an actual cash deposit. Captain Maury supported North's proposal⁽¹⁾ to sell certificates, as long as payment was made in cash. At the end of the year news came that the Erlanger agents had reached Richmond and Mason then ordered Fraser, Trenholm & Co. , James Spence and others to cease the efforts to sell certificates until informed of the outcome⁽²⁾ OF the negotiations in Richmond. North, who believed himself on the verge of a great financial coup, followed these instructions reluctantly, reporting to Bulloch: "In obedience I have stopped and the result is I have no money."⁽³⁾

(1) Ibid, 322, (Bulloch-North, 28 Dec.). A number of unscrupulous financiers and business men were hanging about the Confederate agents in Britain and taking advantage of their comparative innocence in financial matters (e.g. the activities of Isaac, Campbell & Co. - ORR, 4s, II, 623-31 et al.). Bulloch advised North: "The character of the person buying is nothing if he purchases for cash, but Mr. E.P.S. (Edgar Pinchback String of London, one of the ostensible owners of the Pampero) is something."

(2) Ibid, 325 (Bulloch-North, 31 Dec.).

(3) Ibid, 329, (North-Bulloch, 2 Jan.).

money. Her armament will consist of the Whitworth and smoothbore, large calibre. The contract provides that she will be ready in all respects by the first of June."⁽¹⁾

North reported that the work was proceeding, and that she would be fully plated (not armour) and ready for teak backing by the end of January. The armour plating would then be put on. At the same time the work on the engines (also being done by the Thomsons) was proceeding ahead of schedule. North urged that the full complement of officers for her be sent out by 1st June, and asked for Southern pilots to be sent out, as the ironclad would be operating chiefly along the Southern coasts.⁽²⁾

The ram had now come under the attention of Underwood, the new American consul in Glasgow, who took over his duties in November. In one of his first despatches to Seward he pleaded for more money in order to expand the intelligence activities initiated by his predecessor. "My salary, as I said to you frankly, is inadequate to my support/

(1) ORN, loc.cit., 315-9, (North-Mallory, 22 Dec.).

(2) Ibid. North wrote that the ship would need six lieutenants, one paymaster, one surgeon, one or two assistant surgeons, one master, one engineer with six assistants, one marine officer, and eight or ten midshipmen.

support and therefore affords me no means to purchase (for you have to purchase it) the earliest and most reliable information of facts like these. ⁽¹⁾

I think the Government ought to know them early and specifically and therefore ought to pay for them - and really, unless I am furnished the means to pay for it, or rather to employ agents to find out, it will pass before my eyes, and I cannot see it." He pointed out further that if the American Government wished to take diplomatic steps to prevent the sailing of the ram and the Pampero, it would need thorough and authentic information about them. ⁽²⁾

The American Government was not yet ready to take up the question of the warships in the Clyde, although Charles Adams was disputing with Lord Russell the question of the Alabama and the warships then being built at Liverpool.

Adams was demanding that the ships should be detained on the suspicion that they were intended as Confederate warships, whereas Russell insisted at the time that there should be "full proof" before detention. ⁽³⁾ The latter was almost/

(1) Underwood was not always a reliable observer, and his reports were sometimes unduly alarmist - particularly when stressing his need for more money. For instance, at this time he reported: "An iron plated frigate and ram are in process of construction and nearly completed" (Underwood-Seward, 6 Nov.).

(2) Ibid.

(3) E.D. Adams, op.cit., II, 119-24.

almost impossible for the Americans to obtain on their own initiative because of the precautions taken by the Confederates to disguise their activities.

In view of the growing diplomatic tension over the warships, and the efforts of the Americans to obtain evidence of the Confederate activities in this field, both Mallory and Bulloch agreed that it would be too risky to send naval officers for the Mersey and Clyde warships directly to Britain. Mallory suggested that the officers⁽¹⁾ should be picked up by the ships in France. Mallory was very anxious to speed the delivery of the ships and suggested to North that he offer the Thomsons a bonus of five or ten thousand pounds for an earlier completion of his ironclad, and, if possible, for her delivery outside of British jurisdiction. However, he could offer no immediate financial help, except to instruct Commander Maury to make use of part of his supply of cotton certificates⁽²⁾ to help North.

On 9 January Bulloch paid £22,000 to the Thomsons and informed North that it was the last payment he could make unless bonds could be sold or money obtained in some other/

(1) ORN, loc.cit., 332-4 (Mallory-Bulloch, 7 Jan.).

(2) Ibid, loc.cit.; Ibid, 334 (Mallory-North, 7 Jan.).

other way. He suggested that North try to borrow from W.S. Lindsay & Co.,⁽¹⁾ through whom the contract had been made, and who had promised to help smoothe over any difficulties that might arise. Although both Mason and Spence were confident that money would soon be forthcoming, Bulloch and North were becoming increasingly pessimistic.⁽²⁾ North regretted strongly that Mason had prevented him from going ahead and raising cotton sales on his own and sent Bulloch a note from "one of the large European banking houses in London", which expressed an interest in loaning North £130,000 on cotton providing the loan were endorsed by responsible Confederate authority.⁽³⁾ As another instalment of £10,000 was coming due, and as he had so far been able to confirm his order for the guns by making an initial payment to Whitworth,⁽⁴⁾ North attempted to press Mason into some positive action.

However/

-
- (1) Lindsay was a wealthy shipbuilder and a leader of the pro-Southern party in Parliament.
- (2) ORN, loc.cit., 337 (Bulloch-North, 9 Jan.).
- (3) ORN, 337-8, (North-Bulloch, 12 Jan 1863; also includes the note from the London banking house, dated 30th Dec. 1862); (All further references to ORN are s2,II, unless otherwise noted.).
- (4) Ibid, 338-9, (North-Mason, 13 Jan.).

However, Mason was difficult to move and only advised
(1)
North to continue waiting.

A few days later Sinclair received news that G. Sanders, the agent for the Erlanger loan, had failed in his first attempt to run the blockade and was going to make his second attempt from Texas, which meant a lengthy detour. North then warned Mason in stronger terms that the Thomsons might stop work on the ship if the next payment were not made and also that if the guns did not get underway shortly she would not be able to sail on schedule, but again the Confederate envoy failed to respond. Bulloch lamented the fact that North had not proceeded with his negotiations with the London bankers, and reported that since the sale of cotton certificates had been halted by the Confederate authorities, their main hopes were positive news of the Erlanger loan or else the sale by Spence of Confederate State securities. Bulloch had been given a two million dollar draft on the latter, and promised that if any substantial proceeds should come from this source he would send some to North. He reiterated that Mallory had given him no instructions concerning the payments for the/

(1) Ibid, 339 (Mason-North, 16 Jan.).

the Clyde ram, and did not seem to be aware that the contract had been turned over to Bulloch.⁽¹⁾ The latter, probably influenced to a large extent by the financial difficulties involved, had been anxious for some weeks to transfer the contract of the Clyde warship back to North, who in his turn had been equally reluctant to accept it. Bulloch insisted that he could not accept responsibility for the ram unless he could inspect it frequently, and declared that he could not do this and at the same time pay proper attention to the ships being constructed at Liverpool. The contract was eventually transferred back to North on 26 January.⁽²⁾

Meanwhile, Underwood was continuing to look for positive evidence concerning the ram. On 10 January he reported: "Her ownership and destination are disguised by contradictory reports, intentionally circulated. Little doubt, however, is felt that she is for the Confederates."⁽³⁾ A few days later he again mentioned his rather premature apprehension that she was about to be launched.⁽⁴⁾ At the same/

(1) Ibid, 342-3 (Bulloch-North, 20 Jan.).

(2) Ibid, 290-1, 337, 342-3, 347.

(3) Underwood-Seward, 10 Jan.

(4) Ibid, 16 Jan.

same time information began to leak out from other sources. Southern papers published reports about the shipbuilding operations in Britain, and the British press was beginning to pick up relevant information. Bulloch bewailed the fact that: "Indiscreet persons, who should have known better have written to private persons in the South on such matters, and I am not surprised at the result."⁽¹⁾

Subsequently, Palmerston ordered customs collectors to examine and report on all ships building in their respective districts. This made it inevitable that the ironclads, at least, would come to the official attention of the government.⁽²⁾

As this threat to their activities was developing, North and Sinclair were busy looking for artillery for their respective ships. North opened negotiations for the purchase of from twelve to twenty 8 inch smooth bore cast steel guns and despatched enquiries to several English munition firms.⁽³⁾ Sinclair, unembarassed by the necessity of making cash payments for the Pampero, went to England to contract/

(1) ~~Ibid~~, ORN - 345 (Bulloch-Mallory, 23 Jan.).

(2) Ibid, loc.cit.

(3) Ibid, 342. The firms were: John Brown & Co., Sheffield; the Mersey Steel & Iron Co., Liverpool; and William Butcher, Jr. & Co., Sheffield.

contract for three 8 inch guns. After conferring with the Confederate agents in England, Sinclair reported to North that: "Mr. Mason seems to be aroused as to the necessity of action, but Bulloch thinks the chance a little blue."⁽¹⁾ Commander Maury, however, managed to send on a sum of money for the Clyde ram.⁽²⁾ Sinclair had evidently promised to attempt, while in London, to influence Mason on North's behalf. He interviewed Mason on 2nd February, but the latter's only response was to repeat that North must wait. Sinclair wrote: "I shall see him again in a day or so and do all I can to stir him up, but I don't think there is any hurry in him."⁽³⁾ North then reminded Mason that a payment of £18,000 was nearly due and, quoting Mallory's order that the three ironclads were to go to sea as nearly at the same time as possible, inquired: "May I ask how it will be possible to carry out the above orders from the Department if I have no means to get things ready?... With me pretty much everything is at a standstill for the want/

(1) Ibid, 347-8 (Sinclair-North, 29 Jan.).

(2) Ibid, 348, (Maury-North, 1 Feb.). The money (amount unmentioned) was probably left from the sale of the cotton certificates used to purchase the Georgia.

(3) Ibid, 349-50 (Sinclair-North, 2 Feb.).

want of means." ⁽¹⁾ Mason replied that Slidell had informed him that the Erlanger loan had been arranged and that money would shortly be available. He advised North: "If you are dunned, therefore, you may say with safety that you know the money will be in hand in very ⁽²⁾ few days but without saying where it is to come from."

Now that the Erlanger loan had been definitely ⁽³⁾ arranged, Spence urged that Bulloch and North go ahead with the contracts for their guns and promised that the necessary money would be available in time. At the same time, Bulloch finally received definite orders from Mallory/

(1) Ibid, 350-1 (North- Mason, 3 Feb.).

(2) Ibid 353 (4 Feb.). This illustrates the significant contrast between the business psychology of the planter and that of the capitalist and links with the vagueness and confusion over financial problems which Mallory and other Confederate leaders exhibited- in fact it goes a good deal of the way toward explaining the failure of the "King Cotton Diplomacy". The Southern planters were used to owing money to Northern and foreign capitalists, so being in debt did not worry them. The contract with Erlanger was signed on 28 Jan. 1863.

(3) (E.D. Adams, op.cit. II, 158.).

Mallory to pay for the Clyde ram out of the funds supplied to him.⁽¹⁾ North and Bulloch, however, continued to squabble over this point. North officially requested Bulloch to furnish him with £150,000, some of it as soon as possible in order to meet impending payments. He also made a statement of his financial needs to Fraser, Trenholm & Co.⁽²⁾ Bulloch passed the enclosed letter on to Fraser and Trenholm, but North had not intended Bulloch to do this and evidently feared that the latter might thus attempt to evade responsibility for paying for North's ship. North protested that he had not requested Bulloch to forward the enclosure and informed Bulloch that he was in urgent need of money to make an initial payment for his guns since the contractors required one third cash to be paid before they would accept the order.⁽³⁾ Bulloch had written that it might be some weeks before money from the cotton loan came in because the Erlanger agent had not yet returned from Richmond.⁽⁴⁾ Bulloch also regained the enclosure from Fraser, Trenholm & Co. and returned it to North. He informed North that when new payments became due he intended to appeal/

(1) ORN, s2, II, 352-3, (Bulloch-North, 4 Feb.).

(2) Ibid, 356-7 (North-Bulloch, 5 Feb.).

(3) Ibid 358, (North-Bulloch, 10 Feb.).

(4) loc.cit., (Bulloch-North, 9 Feb.).

appeal for short term loans from "certain acquaintances", and suggested that North do likewise. He added that it was necessary for him to keep some money on hand for he was expected to pay some of the expenses connected with the Georgia.⁽¹⁾

On 12 February the Thomsons notified North that his ship would be plated in ten days, at which time the next instalment would be due.⁽²⁾ North reported the critical state of his project to the various Confederate authorities and asked that immediate steps be taken to obtain money for him to meet the payment on the ship and to start to manufacture her guns.⁽³⁾ After reviewing his financial needs he wrote to Bulloch increasing his requisition from £150,000 to £180,000. He asserted that the extra £30,000 was necessary for armaments, spare engine parts, and other accessories, and he had also decided to add a turret to the ship for the use of the captain when she was in action.⁽⁴⁾ From Richmond, where the effects of Federal blockade and naval superiority were increasingly felt, Mallory continued to urge North and Bulloch to hasten the completion of their warships and suggested that they offer bonuses for earlier/

-
- (1) Ibid, 359 (Bulloch-North, 11 Feb)
 (2) Ibid, 360, (J. & G. Thomson-North, 12 Feb.)
 (3) Ibid, 364, 365 (North-Mason, 19 Feb.) (North-Mallory 20 Feb.)
 (4) Ibid, 362 (North-Bulloch, 16 Feb.)

earlier delivery. The Laird rams, the Clyde ironclad, and the Pampero were intended to play a major role in Confederate naval strategy. It was planned that they should put to sea at approximately the same time, cross the Atlantic, break the blockade and then attack and recapture New Orleans, in concert with the Confederate ironclad fleet in Mobile. The Glasgow and Liverpool warships were undoubtedly superior to most if not all of the Federal warships and their departure would pose a serious threat to the continued Northern command of the sea, and thus, in the long run, to all hope of subduing the Rebellion. Mallory, at any rate, placed complete confidence in the four British built ships and assured Bulloch: "You do not overrate their ability to cope with the blockading force of the enemy. He copes with vast expenditures in the effort to produce serviceable and invulnerable ships, but except for smooth (1) water his ships are comparatively useless."

On 21 February Mason promised Bulloch that funds would be in hand in a few days and ordered him not to attempt to sell cotton certificates in the meantime. (2) While waiting for further news on the Erlanger proposition, Bulloch was forced for the time being to hope for funds/

(1) Ibid, --366 (Mallory-North, 21 Feb.); 364 (Mallory-North, 20 Feb.)

(2) Ibid, --366 (Mason-North)

funds from the sale of Confederate State Securities, which
 of course found no takers.⁽¹⁾ Mason continued to promise
 North that money would be coming in from the loan within
 a few days,⁽²⁾ and North was forced⁽³⁾ to put off the
 Thomsons with similar assurances. North was, however,⁽⁴⁾
 able to make a payment on his guns by borrowing £1800.

North's position improved somewhat⁽⁵⁾ when Mason, on 23
 March, authorised him to draw £26,000, which enabled⁽⁶⁾
 him to make his sixth payment of £18,000. He then
 wrote to Bulloch that he intended to make a requisition
 for £174,000 to complete his ship and asked to whom he
 should look for funds. Mason instructed him to make⁽⁷⁾ the
 requisition to Bulloch and send it to himself (Mason)
 On 4 April North made a reduced requisition of £154,000⁽⁸⁾
 to Bulloch.

Towards the end of winter, the work on the Clyde ram
 had/

(1) Ibid,--(Bulloch-North, 17 March)

(2) Ibid,--(375 (Mason-North, 18 March)

(3) Ibid,--376(North-J.G. Thomson, 19 March)

(4) probably from pro-Southern capitalists. (Ibid--374,
 North-T.&C. hood, 13 March: 398, North-Mallory, 3 April)

(5) Ibid, 393: (Mason-North, 23 March)

(6) Ibid--394, (North-P. Henderson & Co., 25 March)

(7) Ibid--398 (Mason-North, 1 April)

(8) Ibid, (North-Bulloch, 4 April)

had begun to fall behind that on the Laird rams. The weather conditions had been severe, and the Thomsons' yard, like most of the Clyde yards at the time, had no sheds. By the beginning of April, however, the gun and berth decks were nearly finished, the wood backing was almost half done, and the work on the guns was progressing. North asked Mallory to appoint the officers for the ship, but warned that there might be difficulties when the ships were ready to sail. He was alarmed at the scope of American intelligence activity and suspected that there might be an attempt by the Federals to seize the ram and the Pampero. He suggested that Mallory send out a marine guard to forestall any possible attempt of this nature. At the same time work on the Pampero was progressing and North promised that she "will be most formidable, not only in her armament but in all respects and would render great service in assisting to raise the blockade.⁽¹⁾"

The Erlanger bonds were finally put on the market on 19 March. Their price rose rapidly at first, as a good deal of speculative money had been waiting to invest in cotton. The rise was further stimulated by the victory of the pro-Southern/

(1) Ibid,--394/5 (North-Bulloch, 26 March); 398 (North-Mallory, 3 April); 400/2, (North-Mallory 11 April).

(1)
 pro-Southern party in the debate in Parliament on 27 March.
 However, on 5 April the British Government seized the
Alexandra, a Southern warship in Liverpool, - an act which
 portended a less sympathetic policy towards the Rebellion.
 (2)
 The price of the bonds consequently dropped sharply.
 On 13 April Bulloch reported that he had been unable to
 raise any further money for the ships; no monetary bonds
 had been sold, and no money had come through from the
 cotton loan. (3)
 Despairing of receiving anything from
 Bulloch, North turned again to Mason for money to meet the
 next payment on the ship and pay gun carriages and other
 necessary equipment. (4)
 Mason replied that he would
 confer personally with Erlanger and again promised to do
 something within "a few days". (5)
 Mason probably sent
 some/

(1) Hansard, 3s, CLXX, 33-83. During the debate, John Bright read a list of the ships being built for the Confederacy in Britain. The informant, a Liverpool man who published a shipping list, mentioned the Glasgow ironclad: "George and James Thomson, at Glasgow, are building a monster ram, iron clad, for the Confederate Government. She is over 3000 tons burden. She is not yet launched." (Hansard)

(2) E.D. Adams, II, 160/2.

(3) ORN, --403 (Bulloch-North, 13 April)

(4) Ibid, --404, (North-Mason, 16 April)

(5) Ibid, -- (Mason-North, 20 April)

some money in answer to this appeal, for on 22 April North sent an order to the Elswick Ordnance Works in New-⁽¹⁾castle for two 150 pounder guns and two 12 pounders. A few days later he ordered a third 150 pounder from the⁽²⁾ same company.

Mason's promise of assistance in "a few days" had, however, not been carried out. North continued to plead⁽³⁾ for funds, declaring: "My hands are tied and I can do nothing for want of money. Bills are due and orders of great importance not yet given out. I again beg to urge upon you the necessity of placing me in funds as soon as⁽⁴⁾ possible".

North was forced to borrow from wealthy sympathisers to pay for his guns and some other equipment. At the end of May, he eventually got in touch with McRae, the Confederate agent who was disbursing the proceeds of the Erlanger loan, and submitted a requisition for £30,000 at once to pay for instalments due on the ram, and a further £130,000/

(1) Ibid,--408 (North-Elswick Ordnance Works, 22 April)

(2) ORN,--413 (" " " " , 4 May)

(3) Ibid,--408, (North-Mason, 23 April), 413 (Ibid, 18 May).

(4) Ibid,--413.

(1)
 £130,000 later on to complete the contract. (2) McRae sent
 the £30,000 the following week. In a speech on 23 May⁽¹⁾
 calling for Anglo-French intervention in the American war,
 Lord Campbell, a leading pro-Southern Scot, instanced the
 strong support initially given the loan as proof that
 European capitalists believed the Rebellion to be success-
 ful. After asking whether the issue could still be con-
 sidered doubtful, Lord Campbell declared: "The capitalists
 of London, Frankfurt, Paris and Amsterdam are not of that
 opinion. Within the last few days the Southern loan has
 reached the highest place in our market. £3,000,000 were
 (3)
 required: £9,000,000 were subscribed for".

A week later Underwood wrote to Seward: "I think that
 loan might have been defeated - I am happy to say was defeat-
 ed in Glasgow, where too it was offered. It was to the Con-
 federacy a success, to the purchasers under it a distinct
 failure./

(1) Ibid, --433/4, (North-Mallory, 6 June)

(2) ORN, ... 439, (Lamar, et al. North, 13 June)

(3) Hansard, 3rd s., CLXIX, 1721. According to John Bigelow,
 Lord Campbell was a chief subscriber to the loan (J.
 Bigelow, Lest We Forget, N.Y., 1905, p. 8).

failure. It was sold at a premium of as high as 5%. It is vibrating now on a decline ranging from $\frac{3}{4}$ -1 $\frac{1}{2}$ %." (March 30).⁽¹⁾ McRae finally sent the £30,000 in the middle of June.⁽²⁾

During this period the Confederate authorities were increasingly eager to get the ships building at Glasgow and Liverpool to sea. Mallory continued to lay plans for an amphibious attack on New Orleans, for which he felt that these vessels would be the decisive factor making for success.⁽³⁾ Bulloch envisaged not only the capture of New Orleans, but the ending of the blockade and the conquest of the Mississippi valley, where General Grant was then closely investing the Rebel stronghold at Vicksburg.⁽⁴⁾ North reported on the Pampero in glowing terms, asserting that she "will be quite formidable of her kind and could do valuable service - - in aiding to raise the blockade and making captures of some of their vessels which may prove valuable additions to our little navy."⁽⁵⁾

During the early spring the work on the ram had made steady/

(1) ORN -- 431 (North-McRae, 28 May).

(2) Ibid--439 (Lamar, et al. - North, 13 June).

(3) Ibid--407 (Mallory-Bulloch, 21 April); 428 (Mallory-Bulloch, 26 May).

(4) Ibid--423/5, (Bulloch-Mallory, 16 May).

(5) Ibid--415 (North-Mallory, 6 May).

steady progress, but about the beginning of May, unforeseen difficulties arose which resulted in seriously delaying her construction schedule. The laying on of teak backing for the armour proved to be an unexpectedly difficult task, and a further complication was added when Thomson's shipyard was caught up in a wave of strikes which swept over the Clyde yards during 1863.⁽¹⁾ The Rebellion had greatly stimulated the expansion of the shipbuilding industry, and therefore the production of iron and steel and coal mining. The demand for labour in turn strengthened the hand of the trade union movement, which made use of the opportunity to strike for higher wages in a number of industries. Thomsons' yard was consequently idle during a good deal of May and June, with the result that North finally despaired of having his ironclad finished before October.⁽²⁾ The work on the Pampero was of course similarly delayed.

At the same time the Radical and working class agitation against the pro-Southern policy of the Government, the consequent seizure of the Alexandra by the Government, and the American/

(1) Ibid-- (433/4, North-Mallory, 6 June) Mallory had ordered on 7 May that £3,000,000 from the Erlanger loan be placed on credit to Bulloch to pay for the Pampero and the ram.

(2) Ibid--656/7 (Thompson-North, 19 May 1864).

American efforts to obtain evidence against the other Confederate warships in Britain were increasingly worrying the Confederate agents and sympathisers. Pro-Northern sympathisers were co-operating with Underwood in his efforts to stop the two ships in the Clyde. The consul reported to Seward that he had a conference "with an excellent and enlightened gentleman, whose name I deem it unnecessary to give but who is a decided friend of the United States". Underwood praised this unnamed gentleman for his efforts to halt the Clyde warships, and passed on to him information concerning the (1) ships, for use by the pro-Northern party in Parliament.

The British Government also began to take greater interest in Confederate shipbuilding activities, and North complained that: "This Government, together with the many Federal spies, have become so very vigilant that everything is most closely (2) watched wherever there is the slightest suspicion."

At the same time, pro-Northern mass meetings were demanding that the Government halt the Rebel fleet which was about to sail from Liverpool and Glasgow. On 28 April, a large rally in Glasgow was addressed by George Thomson and the Reverend Massie, both of whom praised the American (3) Unionists and called for action against the Southern warships. The/

(1) Underwood-Seward, 22 April.

(2) ORN, --433/4, (North-Mallory, 6 June).

(3) Glasgow Herald, 29 April.

The liberal North British Daily Mail, which, after at first backing the Federals, was now strongly pro-Southern and was generally believed to be controlled by the Clyde shipbuilders, replied by denouncing the Federal Intelligence activities in the shipyards. In an article entitled "A Yankee Spy - A Caution to Shipbuilders" the Mail denounced the "mean tricks" of Federal agents on the Clyde and purported to describe the activities of one of them. He was portrayed as having a "full share of Yankee 'cuteness - - yet not able to impose upon the shrewd and long-headed builders of the Clyde." The article proceeded to describe visits paid to various shipyards by this agent, who, the article claimed, would pretend to want to buy a ship, while actually looking for evidence of Confederate warships. The builders however, were suspicious and gave no information, although a Greenock shipbuilder informed the agent that he was building three ships that could be used as warships. The Mail inferred that this information was false and only intended to confuse the agent, but that the latter would repeat it to the Foreign Office, which would "exchequer the 13,000 tons of shipping now in the course of construction by this firm."⁽¹⁾ The incident described in this article seems to be/

(1) NBDM, 29 April. The Greenock firm referred to was Scott & Co. The fact that Confederate warships were believed to be in the course of construction on the Clyde was reported by the Glasgow Sentinel on 9 May. (The Sentinel was a working class paper, but pro-Southern.).

be the same one as that mentioned in North's despatch to Mallory on 8 May, in which he reported that "But a few weeks since a Federal spy was detected in visiting some of the building yards of the Clyde." North described the increase in American Intelligence activity and also his fears that the British Government agents had begun to investigate Rebel activities. He attributed these developments to the capture of secret Rebel documents and despatches, and criticise the Confederate authorities for their carelessness with secret papers, remarking: "I acknowledge that I begin to fear that we shall have great difficulty in getting our ships finished."⁽¹⁾

In the face of growing threats that their activities would be disclosed and their ships seized or arrested, the Confederates thought of transferring the ostensible ownership of their vessels to some French firm.⁽²⁾ Sinclair went to Bris to confer on the matter with Slidell, the Rebel Commissiſsioner in France. Slidell suggested that, since the price of a transfer to the French flag was very heavy, Sinclair should attempt to work out an ostensible transfer through a Hamburg firm. He advised North that since the ram would not be ready for sea in the near future, he/

(1) ORN, --419/20 (North-Mallory, 8 May).

(2) Ibid, --413 (North-Slidell, 2 May). A similar ruse was tried by Bulloch (vid. Owens, Reports, 44-45): "conclude at Eichenhead", at 100).

he should wait until the future of the Laird rams, (which had been nominally transferred to the French firm of M. Bravay & Co.) was decided.⁽¹⁾ In Paris, Sinclair and Slidell discussed the situation in regard to the warships, and Slidell emphasised the Rebel Government's desire for the vessels to sail at about the same time, in order that they could coordinate their operations when reaching America. Sinclair then entered into negotiations with a Hamburg firm for a nominal transfer of the Pampero, but no agreement seems to have been reached.

(2)

In early June, a conference of Rebel agents was held in Paris and attended by North for the purpose of assessing the position of their warships under construction in Europe. They came to the conclusion that the recent trend of British policy, culminating in the seizure of the Alexandra, indicated that it was doubtful whether any further Rebel warships could put to sea. This conclusion was confirmed by the intensity of American Intelligence activity and the attempt to halt the Lord Clyde. The latter, a Clyde built blockade runner, had sailed from Greenock to Cardiff, where, at the request of the American consul, the Controller of Customs came aboard and searched/

(1) Ibid,--414 (Slidell-North, 5 May); Owsley, 441-2.

(2) Lamar, Slidell, and Mason.

searched her while she was being loaded. She was, however
 allowed to sail,⁽¹⁾ but the cooperation between the Customs
 controller and the American consul was considered an ill
 omen by the Rebels. It was decided that North should sell
 the ironclad as the only means of saving the large amount
 of money which had been invested in her.⁽²⁾ The Rebel
 agents suggested that North approach certain Russian repre-
 sentatives who were at the time in Britain looking for war-
 ships. It was also tentatively decided that North should
 move to France and there start work on another warship.
 North proceeded to get in touch with the Russian agents,
 who looked over the ironclad, but declined to buy her because⁽³⁾
 she was not near enough completion for their purposes.
 At this juncture the Court decision on the Alexandra was
 rendered; a verdict was entered against the Government and
 the owners were exonerated. The Government, however, con-
 tinued to hold the ship under arrest and prepared to appeal.
 (4) After the Alexandra decision, Mason wrote to North in
 a more optimistic vein, instructing him not to hurry the
 sale of the ram.⁽⁵⁾ The prospects for the Rebel ships
 now/

(1) Glasgow Sentinel, 6 June 1863.

(2) ORN, --439, (Lamar et al. - North, 13 June).

(3) Ibid, --443 (North-Mason, 26 June).

(4) E.D. Adams, loc.cit.et seq.

(5) ORN, --443 (Mason-North, 27 June).

now appeared greatly enhanced. North wrote to Thomson:

"I have been reading over with much interest the case of the Alexandra and after such a speech as that of Sir Hugh Cairns⁽¹⁾ and such a charge as that of Chief Baron Pollock to the jury, I see nothing to prevent us from going ahead. I should think we were allright, so pray put on additional steam so that I may be off doing something for myself and country.... I think how we shall soon read of the sailing of the others and my great wish was to have been ready at the same time.---." ⁽²⁾

North subsequently reported to Mallory that: "The general opinion is now that the ships cannot be prevented from sailing, provided that the agents do nothing to violate the laws"⁽³⁾

Meanwhile, the teak backing on the ram had been finished and the engines and boilers completed and ready to be installed. The Thomsons now commenced work on the iron plating; /

(1) A leading Tory M.P. (from Belfast) (see article on D.N.B.) He had been Solicitor General in the previous Tory Government and was associated with the efforts to build Rebel warships. He was chief counsel for the defence in the Alexandra case (the D.N.B. article makes little reference to his pro-Confederate attitude).

(2) ORN,-- loc.cit., (North-Thomson, 27 June).

(3) Ibid, 450-1,--(North-Mallory, 3 July, 1863).

plating; the fitting of the plates, however, proved to be a formidable task and promised a further delay in the completion of the vessel. The work on the Pampero also continued to lag behind schedule. (1) However, the Alexandra case decision encouraged North and Sinclair to go ahead with the ordering of their guns and equipment. Sinclair went to England to inspect the construction of the artillery he had ordered. (1) North, (2) proceeded to order gun carriages and other equipment. The income from the Erlanger loan had by now eased the financial straits of the Rebel agents, and McRae sent on £18,000 (3) to enable North to pay his next instalment in time.

At the beginning of July, the Rebels were decisively defeated at Gettysburg and Vicksburg. The outcome of these two major battles revealed fully for the first time the military strength of the Federals and induced British ruling circles, which had hitherto accepted the success of the Rebellion as unquestioned, to reconsider their position/

-
- (1) ORN -- 450/1, (North-Mallory, 3 July). (Mallory, 10 July)
- (2) Ibid, --449 (North-C.C. Williams, 1 July); 470-1 (North-Napton, 22 July); 471 (North-T&C. Hood, 25 July); 472-3 (North-G.B. Tennant, 29 July); etc. The correspondence published in ORN is not complete, and it is impossible to ascertain exactly how many guns North contracted for altogether. The ram seems to have been constructed with a capacity for carrying up to twenty cannon. Sinclair returned to Glasgow highly pleased with the guns which he and North had ordered from Whitworth, but North did not ~~how~~ expect the ram to be completed before November. (Ibid, 457 North-Mallory, 10 July).
- (3) Ibid--452 (North-J&G Thomson, 6 July).

position in regard to the American war. On 17 July, Gladstone hinted strongly to the House of Commons that, pending a final judgement on the Alexandra, the British Government would seize any Southern warship launched in Britain.⁽¹⁾ On the following day Mason urged Sinclair not to launch the Pampero or have anything further done on her which would indicate her warlike character until the Alexandra case was settled. He also advised him to countermand if possible the orders for the officers for the Pampero to come over from the Confederacy. If that should prove impossible. Mason advised that they should be maintained for the time being at Amsterdam.⁽²⁾ Radical and working class agitation against the Southern warships continued and an important section of the business community was also opposed to the Government's pro-Southern policy which they feared might lead to war, thus not only endangering the large British investments in the Northern states, but also exposing the British merchant navy to attacks by American cruisers.⁽³⁾ The shipowners (as distinct/

(1) Hansard, 3rd s., LXXI, 990-2.

(2) ORN--466 (Mason-Sinclair, 20 July).

(3) The pro-Northern section of the British capitalist class played an important part in keeping the peace between Britain and America. The preservation of the American market was of course another major consideration influencing in their attitude. The influence of this element had already helped to ease Anglo-American relations following the Trent case. (vid. M.P. Claussen, Peace Factors in Anglo-American Relations, 1861-5, Mississippi B. Valley Historical Review, XXVI, (1939-40), 511-22. Claussen/ contd. next page.

distinct from the builders) now aligned themselves with the campaign to strengthen the Foreign Enlistment Act in order to prevent the sailing of any further Southern war-ships.⁽¹⁾

The military disasters suffered by the Confederacy resulted in a serious depreciation of the Erlanger bonds, and the Rebel agents again found themselves in straitened financial circumstances. Following the conference in Paris at which it had been decided to sell the Glasgow ram, Bulloch had proceeded to contract for two more iron-clads in France, intending to pay for them out of the proceeds from the sale of North's vessel. Bulloch had not been informed of the decision to proceed with the latter ship; he wrote to North at the end of July asking what steps had been taken to sell her. "Your ship," asserted Bulloch, "would bring enough to build a ram, and equip two more."⁽²⁾ North replied that he was proceeding with her construction, under orders from Mason, and that twenty or thirty of the armour plates were now on. He asked/

contd. f.n.1 previous page: Claussen, like Owsley and other Southern historians, attempts to minimise the influence of the working class on British policy).

(1) E.D. Adams, op.cit., II, 137-45.

(2) ORN -- 471-2, (Bulloch-North, 28 July).

asked where the money was to come from for further pay-
 (1) ments. The Richmond government had designated
 5,200,000 dollars from the proceeds of the Erlanger loan (2)
 for the payment of the Rebel naval contracts in Europe.
 The sum was to be put to Bulloch's credit and payed out
 to him in instalments. He was also sent 2,000,000 dollars
 worth of Confederate money bonds, which were now, of
 course, more useless than ever. (3) He warned Mallory
 that unless the entire 5,200,000 from the loan were made
 available to him it would be impossible to complete the
 Glasgow ram. (2) He wrote further to North that: "I still
 think the chances of getting so large and formidable a
 ship out are hopeless and that you will sooner get to sea
 (4) by putting the money in another ship elsewhere."

As the controversy over the Foreign Enlistment Act
 of 1819 was now reaching a climax, the legal aspect of
 the/

(1) Ibid, 475-6, (North-Bulloch, 1 August).

(2) Ibid, 476-8, (Bulloch-Mallory, 7 Aug.).

(3) Ibid, 479, (Bulloch-North, 9 Aug.).

(4) Ibid, 476, (Bulloch-North, 4 Aug.), In the latter part
 of August the Glasgow ram was inspected by the Glas-
 gow Customs Surveyor. He does not appear to have
 discovered any evidence of Confederate ownership.
 (Case of the Pampero, Hart-Alison, 24 Oct.) (F.O. Papers)

the question came increasingly into the foreground. The above act was modelled closely on the American Neutrality Law of 1818, but differed in one important respect, in that the American law made specific provisions for the seizure of a vessel on suspicion. The British Act did not mention this procedure, and Earl Russell insisted throughout on submitting suspected vessels to trial by jury. This meant that in order to obtain a conviction, it was necessary to present full proof of a vessel's belligerent character, and this was almost impossible to obtain because of the steps taken by the Rebel agents to (1) conceal their activities.

(1) E. D. Adams, op.cit., 117, f.n.1. During the war between Mexico and Texas, two warships, the Montezuma and the Guadeloupe, had been built for Mexico in Britain. After protests from Texas the Montezuma's arms were dismantled before she left port, but the Guadeloupe sailed fully armed. Both vessels were manned by personnel of the British Navy. The officers resigned their commissions after the Texan protests, but remained in command of the ships and resumed their former rank in the British Navy at the conclusion of the war.

The vagueness of the Act thus made possible a policy distinctly favourable to one of the belligerent parties. At the beginning of the American Civil War, the Rebel agents were advised by British lawyers that the construction of Confederate warships in Britain would be permissible providing the vessels were not "equipped", - regardless of whether the vessels were obviously intended for belligerent purposes. The Rebels were further advised that they would not violate the Foreign Enlistment Act providing they engaged their crew outside the British waters, did not take any guns or other war equipment, and concealed the Confederate ownership of the vessels.⁽¹⁾ Up until 1863, the vagueness of the Act had assisted Earl Russell to follow a pro-Southern policy in the same manner in which Lord Aberdeen had been enabled to favour the Mexicans twenty years previously.⁽²⁾ During 1863, however, the British Government was being subjected to increasing pressure to adopt a policy of stricter neutrality. During the summer, Bulloch's two rams at Birkenhead (nominally transferred to a French owner) became a focal point both for the radical and working class pro-Northern agitation and for the American diplomatic efforts, which were now re-inforced by two great Union victories. Charles Francis Adams sent a series of strong notes/

(1) op.cit., II, 118.
 (2) See p. 193, f.n.(1).

notes on the rams to Russell, culminating in his despatch 5 September declaring: "It would be superfluous for me to point out to your Lordship that this is war."⁽¹⁾

Although the Glasgow ironclad did not figure in Adams' despatches, it had come to the attention of the Abolitionists and other pro-Union groups who were pressing the Government on the subject of Rebel warships. The London Emancipation Society, in a memorial calling for the arrest of the Birkenhead rams, mentioned also the Clyde ironclad and called for its detention.⁽²⁾ A similar memorial was sent by the Glasgow Emancipation Society on 8 September.⁽³⁾ The Scottish press, including newspapers which were sympathetic toward Rebellion, now joined in the demand that the Government seize the rams. The Glasgow Citizen, which was normally pro-Confederate, warned of the danger of war resulting from the growing intensity of American feeling over the suspected warships and urged the Government to "beware of giving reasonable grounds for offence."⁽⁴⁾

The/

(1) Adams, op.cit., II, 144.

(2) Glasgow Herald, 27 August, 1863.

(3) Glasgow Emancipation Society minute books.

(4) Glasgow Citizen, 29 August.

The Glasgow Herald reprinted a letter to the Times on the Liverpool and Glasgow rams, declaring that the Confederates were using the ships to start a war between Britain and America, which would be inevitable if the ships should sail.⁽¹⁾

At the same time, Mallory wrote to North warning of the difficulties which the Federals were likely to put in the way of the sailing of the Glasgow ram, in spite of the Alexandra decision. Mallory suggested that North arrange a nominal transfer of the ship to a French citizen. He was to give details of the plan, whereby Mallory would transfer the ship to a French agent (at the price of a large commission), take careful measure to conceal the real nature of the transaction, and retire to the Continent until the ship was ready to sail.⁽²⁾

By the beginning of September it had become increasingly difficult to clear that the Alexandra decision had not definitely cleared the way for Confederate shipbuilding in Britain. Bulloch reported that "Federal spies have rather increased than otherwise, and I am convinced that nothing more/

(1) Glasgow Herald, 1 September.

(2) ORN-- 482-3, (Mallory-North, 29 August).

more should be attempted in England. - - - A vessel cannot clear for an island, even though it be a British island contiguous to the Confederate States, without enquiry, interruption and delay, and a ship building anywhere in private yards with the external appearance of a man-of-war is not only watched by Yankee spies but by British officials and is made the subject of newspaper discussion, letters and protests from lawyers and men⁽¹⁾ of position and even petitions from the Emancipation Society North also anticipated serious difficulties in getting out his ram, which he did not think would be ready before
 (2)
 December.

Bulloch was also disturbed over the shortage of money and urged Mallory to send out cotton to pay for the warships, before all the money on the contracts became
 (3)
 due.

At the end of the summer, Earl Russell finally effected the change in British policy for which both the American Government and British radical opinion had been pressing/

(1) Ibid,--487-9, (Bulloch-Mallory, 1 September).

(2) Ibid,--489-90, (North-Mallory, 4 Sept.).

(3) Ibid,--487-9, (Bulloch-Mallory, 1 Sept.).

(1) pressing. Already on 3 September (two days before Adams' "this is war" despatch) Russell had made out an order to halt the Birkenhead rams, although it was not immediately endorsed by Palmerston and the rest of the Cabinet. In the course of the two important speeches which he made while visiting Scotland in September (delivered at Dundee and Blairgowrie respectively) the Foreign Secretary outlined his revised policy towards America.⁽²⁾ Speaking at Dundee, Russell emphasised the importance of enforcing a strict neutrality in regard to the American conflict and promised that if the Foreign Enlistment Act proved inadequate for this purpose, he was prepared to call upon/

- (1) E.D. Adams (op.cit.¹) maintains (in his chapter on the Laird rams) that the basic change in policy toward the Confederate warships had already been made by Russell in March-April 1863, when the Alexandra was seized following the American threat to send out squadrons of privateers. Brooks Adams (op.cit.) holds to the traditional theory that the real crisis came in September over the Laird rams. I do not believe that the change in Russell's policy was as clear cut as either of these authorities make it out. From a study of the Scottish cases discussed here and from Russell's own subsequent statements, it seems evident that the Foreign Secretary treated each case, to a large extent, according to the amount of pressure, domestic and foreign, which was exerted on him at the time.
- (2) Times, 7, 10, 24, 28 sept. On the other hand it is important to note that in the course of the Blairgowrie declaration, Russell repudiated the chief American criticisms of his enforcement of neutrality, supported the right of the Southerners to rebel, compared it to the English and American Revolutions and maintained that Southern warships could legally be built in Britain, providing they received their arms elsewhere but that the/ (contd. next page)

upon Parliament to pass additional legislation. Adams felt that the speech represented a turning point and observed to Seward: "This is at last the true tone. I confess that I have more hopes of our prospect of being able to preserve friendly relations than at any moment since my arrival in England."⁽¹⁾ Adams believed that the speech would greatly assist his efforts to prevent the sailing of any more Rebel ships. In regard to the Glasgow ram, Adams wrote: "There is however, still one very large and formidable steam ram on the stocks at Glasgow, which I am led to believe to be intended for the Rebels."⁽¹⁾

Russell's position was, however, still equivocal in some respects, for on the following day in reply to Adams' protests on the Liverpool warships, he wrote: "A ship or a musket may be sold to one belligerent or the other, and only ceases to be neutral when the ship is owned, manned, or employed in war, and the musket is held by a soldier and used/

(cont. of f.n.2 previous page): the steam rams should be seized since they were already per se vessels of war. (Times, loc.cit., the Glasgow Sentinel praised the speech - - as pro-Southern (Glasgow Sentinel, 3 Oct.).

(1) Foreign Relations, 1862-3, I, 423 (Adams-Seward, 17 Aug)

(1)
used for the purpose of killing his enemy." Here,
Russell appears to have reverted again to his previous
doctrine which equated the building of warships for the
Rebels with the manufacture of and sale of arms to the
belligerents. Any major concession to Adams on this point
would of course have meant implicitly admitting British
responsibility for the depredations of the Confederate
warships which had already put to sea.

Russell qualified the above position in his speech
at Blairgowrie. Here, after a resume of Anglo-American
relations during the war, he declared: "If you are asked
to sell muskets, there can be a sale of muskets to the one
party or the other; and of gunpowder, shells, and cannon
in the same way. If you are asked to sell a ship, you can
sell a ship in the same manner; if you, however, on the one
hand train or drill a regiment to go out with arms in their
hands to one of the belligerents, you violate your neutra-
lity; and so in the same way in regard to ships. If you
allow a ship to be armed and go at once to make an attack
upon a foreign belligerent, you are yourself, according to
your/

(1) Ibid,--424, (Russell-Adams, 11 Sept.).

your own law, taking part in the war and that is an offence which is punishable by the law." ⁽¹⁾ He also intimated that ironclad rams would be considered per se as belligerent.

The Caledonian Mercury greeted Russell's declaration as a sign that he had finally acceded to the position of the pro-Northern Radicals. "Here, in fact," the Mercury declared, "is the whole position as in a nut shell, and as we have put it over and over again. - - - All that we have maintained, and that the Foreign Secretary now confirms, is that what we would not allow to be done to ourselves, we should not allow to be done to America." ⁽²⁾

By September the Rebels were again plagued with financial difficulties. The period of optimism over money matters which had begun with the initial success of the Erlanger loan, came to an end with the Confederate military disasters in midsummer. Mallory warned North that:

The /

(1) Cal. Mer., 28 September.

(2) Ibid; for examples of the Mercury's appeals to the government to halt the Rebel warships, see Ibid, 15 & 23 Sept. The Duke of Argyll, who sympathised to a considerable extent with the Federals, acted as a mediating influence between the British and American Governments during this crisis. H. G. Pearson, Letters of the Duke and Duchess of Argyll to Charles Sumner, Massachusetts Historical Soc. Proceedings, Boston, Mass. (1914, XLVII, 66-106).

"The efforts of this department to construct vessels abroad have been and must continue to be greatly curtailed and trammelled by the inability of the Treasury Department to supply the necessary funds."⁽¹⁾ Bulloch was disturbed over the shortage of money and urged Mallory to send out cotton to pay for the warships before all the money on the contracts became due.⁽²⁾ North also was faced with an urgent need for more money and was highly irritated to discover that Bulloch had not passed on the requisition for the money to complete the Clyde ram to General McRae, when the latter, who was disbursing the proceeds from the Er-langer loan, had asked Bulloch for a statement on the financial needs of the Confederate Naval Department. North insisted that Bulloch make arrangements with McRae to provide the necessary funds for the Clyde ironclad; he requested £5000 immediately, £34,000 on 1 November, and £70,000 on 1 December. In the anticipation that November would bring a final decision in the Alexandra case, he concluded:/

(1) ORN -- 482-3, (Mallory-North, 29 Aug.) e.g. On 4 Sept. he wrote Russell pressing him to seize the rams. (87) See also E.D. Adams, op. cit., passim, esp. I, 212, 215, 229, 238.

On 9 Sept. the rams were ordered not to make their trial trip. E.D. Adams, I, 146.

(2) Ibid, -- 487-9, (Bulloch-Mallory, 1 Sept.).

concluded: "I think it as well for me to try and have my ship completed, so that I may be ready to slip off as soon thereafter as possible."⁽¹⁾

The following day he received notification from the Thomsons that one third of the armour plates were fitted and that the eighth instalment⁽²⁾ was therefore due.

McRae subsequently warned the Confederate Secretary of the Treasury that the Clyde ironclad would have to be abandoned unless North were sent £30,000⁽³⁾ immediately.

The Richmond government, in order to meet the needs of its agents abroad, now entered the blockade running business on its own account (much to the annoyance of the private interests which had hitherto monopolised this lucrative trade).⁽⁴⁾

Mallory sent Bulloch a draft for 2,000,000 dollars worth of cotton certificates to be drawn on McRae in Paris and promised to send more certificates and drafts later.⁽⁵⁾

He further promised to assign to Bulloch all money coming to the Navy Department from/

(1) ORN,-- 499, (North-Bulloch, 24 Sept.).

(2) Ibid,-- 499-500, (J. & G. Thomson-North, 25 Sept.).

(3) ORN,--4th s, II, 982, (McRae-Memminger, 2 Oct.).

(4) Owsley, op.cit., 384 - 417. Hobart Pasha, Sketches from my Life, 172. Before the end of the year the Richmond Govt. decreed that one third of the cargo in all outgoing ships should be composed of cotton for the Navy and War Departments.

(5) ORN,-- 500, (Mallory-Bulloch, 28 Sept.).

form the Erlanger loan and from sales of cotton. He made out a list of the various naval projects in order of importance, to guide Bulloch's expenditure. The projects were given the following order of precedence; the Birkenhead rams; pay for officers and men; the Pampero; the corvettes and ironclads which Bulloch was building in France; and finally the Glasgow rams. He added: "I name Sinclair's ship third in order and before your own corvettes because (1) I presume that she is quite ready for sea."

Mallory was increasingly impatient to get the Pampero to sea, and, due to the delay and capture of many of the despatches sent to him, he was not fully aware of the difficulties and delays which North and Sinclair had encountered on Clydeside. He ordered Flag-Officer Barron, who had taken Bulloch's place in Liverpool when the latter went to France, to get the Pampero to sea immediately. "Her delay," wrote the Secretary, "is not only protracted, but it is to me incomprehensible. - - - You will with a view alone to the public interest, look at her condition and Commander Sinclair's plans and exercise all necessary authority/

(1) Ibid,-- (Mallory-Bulloch, 29 Sept.).

authority to get the ship to sea at the earliest practicable moment."⁽¹⁾

Sinclair was at the same time concocting his own plan for getting the Pampero to sea about the 10th of November. He planned to advertise her to take on cargo for a neutral port, and to meet her en route in another ship carrying the artillery and a small crew. He expected to recruit a full complement of men from captured American ships. Originally he intended to ship his arms in a French port, but Slidell advised against this, in case it should give publicity to other Confederate schemes in that country.⁽²⁾

About this time the Pampero first came to the attentions of the American consul in Glasgow. On 9 October he reported that in Thomsons' yard: "there is nearly ready to be launched a finely rigged clipper screw sail steamer, much, I am told, after the manner of the Alabama. She, like the ram, is being built according to universal report, for the Confederate Government. But Sir, you will doubtless be surprised to learn the impenetrable secrecy which masks/

(1) Ibid,-- 501 (Mallory-Barron, 29 Sept.).

(2) Ibid, 2nd s, III, 922, (Slidell-Mason, 7 Oct.). On 17 Oct Mallory, who had still received no recent information about the Pampero, wrote to Barron in even stronger terms, criticising Sinclair and ordered Barron to take in hand the business of completing her and getting her to sea as soon as possible. He offered to send a detail of men to complete her complement to meet her off Bermuda or Nassau, and told Barron: "Get her to sea in fighting condition as soon as possible." ORN,--507, (Mallory-Barron, 17 Oct.).

masks all the operations here in regard to movements favourable to the Rebels. No access to the shipyards is obtainable, and the experience in the case of the Alexandra has taught the naturally secretive Scotch builders of these vessels the most profound silence. Every effort of which I am capable, has been and will be directed to penetrate the masks which hide these transactions. - - - In my opinion it would not be unwise for the Government of the United States to send here a skilful detective so conversant with ships as readily to ascertain their purpose and character, and to send both a detective and a naval officer to cooperate with the civil representatives of the Government in Great Britain in reference to these matters." ⁽¹⁾

A few days later, Underwood furnished further particulars to Adams concerning the Pampero. He described her as being 280-300 feet long with a beam of 36 feet, a frame of iron boarded up with teak wood about five inches thick, eight large and eight small portholes - the large ones suitable for the use of pivot guns, sidepockets between decks to carry the coal so as to give an unobstructed passage between the firerooms, a draught of fifteen feet, bark rigged/

(1) Underwood-Seward, 9 Oct.

rigged, and of twelve to fifteen hundred tons burden. In general, he reported, she was similar to the Alabama, except that the latter had a wooden frame. A particularly suspicious feature was the fact that until a few days previously, she had had eyebolts and other fixtures running guns out of her portholes. However, there had later been attempts to hide these belligerent features; the bolts had been taken out, their holds stopped up, and shutters had been built over the portholes. Underwood expected that as soon as she was launched she would take on her boiler and heavier machinery and then be taken elsewhere to receive the rest. He reported that she was only waiting for the spring tide for her launching. He deplored the fact that: "I have no power to compel anyone to give me his testimony; and such is the terror that the associated building and money power of this community inspire, led on no less with the spirit of secession than with the profits of blockade running and pro-Confederate shipbuilding, that it is next to impossible to find a man who will nobly bear the dangers of making a voluntary affidavit of facts which are known to nearly all." Pointing out that the owners of the Pampero were attempting to make use of the vagueness in the Foreign Enlistment Act which had in the past allowed such warships to sail/

sail providing they did not carry their arms with them, the consul urged Adams to press the British Government to take action against her: "Since her hostile intent is as flagrant and clear as if she had guns on board." He reminded Adams that, unlike English and American procedure, Scottish law allowed for a preliminary examination of implicated parties under oath.⁽¹⁾

On 17 October, Adams sent a note to the Foreign Office calling Russell's attention to both the Glasgow ram (which he described as "not yet so fully advanced as to fully disclose her character) and the Pampero, (which he referred to as the Canton - the name which she had been given temporarily). He enclosed extracts from Underwood report and expressed the hope that there would be an official investigation.⁽²⁾ At the same time he remarked to Underwood that "It (Underwood's despatch) seems a little to lack directness and that business-like character to which value is attached in this country. I do not perceive that you anywhere affirm your own convictions from such evidence as you possess that this vessel is intended for the use of the Rebels in carrying on war against/

(1) Underwood-Adams, 15 Oct.

(2) Adams-Russell, 17 Oct.

against the United States. This is the point upon which the case must turn. It is needless to deduce any details of construction... unless you can more or less clearly connect with an intent to use that vessel against us. I call your attention to this point, the more particularly that I have found it frequently made secondary and sometimes altogether overlooked in the representations transmitted for our use." ⁽¹⁾ Underwood, in reply, strongly affirmed his conviction that the Pampero ⁽²⁾ was intended to serve as a warship for the Confederates.

On the 19th, Russell promised Adams that immediate enquiries would be made in regard to the vessel. The Foreign Office mentioned Adams' suspicions to the Admiralty and asked that the senior naval officer on the Clyde should ⁽³⁾ have his attention drawn to the Pampero. At the same time, he requested the Treasury and Home Office to make an enquiry. On 20 October, the Sheriff of Lanarkshire was ordered to prevent any breach of the Foreign Enlistment ⁽⁴⁾ Act. On the same day, Trevor, the Glasgow Customs Collector/

(1) Adams-Underwood, 17 Oct.

(2) Underwood-Adams, 19 Oct.

(3) F.O. - Admiralty, 19 Oct.

(4) F.O. - Treasury and H.O., 19 Oct. On 20 Oct. the Sheriff of Lanarkshire ordered the Procurator-Fiscal to investigate the Pampero "without delay". (Aliston - Grey, 20 Oct.)

Collector, after, as he put it, "accidentally hearing a rumour" that the Pampero was intended for a warship, ordered the measuring surveyor to visit her and make a report.⁽¹⁾

The surveyor reported that the Pampero had four large portholes and five small ones and that the bulwark were to be covered with planking from deck to rail except for the large portholes. He noticed peculiarities in the bulkhead of the top gallant forecastle, which was hinged so that it could be folded up and either secured to the underside of the forecastle deck or removed. He added that: "Her fittings as far as cabin accommodation etc. are concerned, are to say the least unusual, but in the present unfinished state of the ship it is difficult to say for what purpose they are intended." Her dimensions were reported as "Length, 231 feet⁽²⁾ Depth at midship as taken for tonnage, 18.85."

When the Government ordered~~ed~~ to enquire into the Pampero reached him, Trevor interviewed Thomson, who agreed to let him inspect the ship and informed him that she was to be launched within a week and then taken to Finnieston/

(1) Trevor-Customs Commissioners, 20 Oct.

(2) Costello - Treasury, 20 Oct.

Finnieston Quay to receive her engines. Thomson declared that she was being built for Patrick Henderson & Co. of Glasgow, acting as the agent of a London firm. Trevor informed him that she would not be allowed to sail until directions were received from the Government. He further informed the Commissioners that: "In her present state she has no appearance of armament, but there is little doubt⁽¹⁾ that she could be converted into an armed vessel." He enclosed a statement from the Thomsons that "vessel 64"⁽²⁾ was being built for Patrick Henderson & Co. and offered⁽³⁾ to exhibit the contract and specification when required. On the following day Trevor announced further that Patrick Henderson & Co., whom he described as "highly respectable merchants in this city", were acting as brokers for Pembroke of Austin Friars.⁽⁴⁾

The Home Office meanwhile launched its own investigation of the suspected vessel. The Sheriff of Lanarkshire was immediately informed of the matter and two Crown agents were put on the case.⁽⁵⁾ On 21 October, Hart, one of/

(1) Trevor-Customs Commissioners, 20 Oct.

(2) i.e., the Pampero.

(3) G.&J. Thomson - Trevor, 20 Oct.

(4) Trevor-Treasury, 21 Oct.

(5) Sheriff of Lanarkshire - H.O., 20 Oct.

one of the Crown agents, went to Thomsons' yard and questioned George Thomson. The latter asserted blandly that he was certain that she was not intended for a war-ship and that: "it is anything but probable that she is intended as a war vessel for the service of either of the parties in America."⁽¹⁾

The Admiralty had also taken steps in response to the appeal of the Foreign Office. Captain Farquhar, Commander of the gunboat Hogue, which was stationed in the Clyde, scrutinised the Pampero and reported his convictions that Underwood's suspicions concerning her character were probably correct. "She is evidently built for aggressive purposes and from her fine lines will probably have great speed." He described the great difficulty he had in discovering to what use the owners intended to put the ship and asserted that the Thomsons were not readily forthcoming with information.⁽²⁾ After further investigation Farquhar reported: "Although being fitted up as a passenger ship there are several peculiarities which show that when the occasion arose she might easily be converted into a vessel for aggressive purposes, not perhaps so much into a regular man-of-war, her upper deck protection being rather slight - as into a second Alabama. Her ports are being planked inside/

{1} Hart-Alison, 23 Oct.

{2} Farquhar-Admiralty, 22 Oct.

inside and concealed as much as possible outside, but no eye or ring bolts are visible along her bulwarks. Her agents will give no information as to her ultimate destination or employment."⁽¹⁾

While these investigations were proceeding, preparations for the launching of the Pampero were begun and the launching itself was planned for the 28th. Underwood consulted Adam Patterson, a leading Glasgow lawyer, in order to find out what steps could be taken to prevent her from sailing. Patterson advised the American consul to obtain depositions from Thomsons' workers, as well as from anyone else who might have relevant information concerning the vessel. The lawyer also suggested that the American Embassy urge Russell to avail himself of the provision under Scottish law for preliminary examination under oath of witnesses.⁽²⁾ Adams, however, felt that it was not proper for him to urge any particular form of action upon the government.⁽³⁾ He did, however, pass Underwood's suggestion on to the Foreign Office/

(1) Ibid, 25 Oct.

(2) Underwood-Adams, 24 Oct.

(3) Adams-Underwood, 26 Oct.

Office, which in turn called on Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, to institute a full investigation under the (1) Scottish provision.

Two interviews were held between Trevor and Underwood on the 27th and 28th respectively, to discuss steps to be taken subsequent to the launching of the Pampero, which Patrick Henderson & Co. now announced would take place on the 29th. Underwood repeated his conviction that the vessel was intended for a Rebel cruiser; Trevor answered that a full investigation was being made and that the Thomsons had offered to show him the contract and specifications. Trevor also observed that there were no armaments aboard the Pampero, although she might later be converted into a warship. He further promised the consul that if at any time the latter wished a further investigation of the Pampero or any other ship on the Clyde, he, Trevor, would (2) see that it was carried out. Underwood wished to know whether the suspicious details of the Pampero had been included in the Surveyor's report, but Trevor refused to disclose the nature of the latter. Underwood inquired whether he could see the contract, specifications, and financial accounts/

(1) F.O. - H.O., 27 Oct.

(2) F.W. Trevor - Customs House (London), 28 Oct.

accounts relative to the Pampero, to which Trevor replied that he would show them if officially requested. Underwood felt that it might not be appropriate to make such an official request himself, but in reporting the interview to Adams, he suggested that the latter might do so if he thought it necessary. Underwood also asked Adams to pass on a copy of the Surveyor's report if he had received one, so that no time would be wasted ascertaining (1) facts that were already known.

On the 29th, the Treasury pointed out to Lord Russell that it was now too late to prevent the launching, but that since the Pampero was still lacking her machinery, it suggested that action be deferred for a few days, to see (2) whether further facts might come to light. Russell agreed to wait for a few days but advised that the Pampero be watched in the meantime and asked that the Home Office make known anything that they discover concerning the (3) ship. At the same time, the Home Office instructed the Lord Advocate of Scotland and the Sheriff of Lanarkshire to make use of the power of investigation under oath provided/

(1) Underwood-Adams, 30 Oct. (Glasgow Cons. Recs.)

(2) Treasury-Russell, 29 Oct.

(3) Russell-Hamilton; F.O. - Treasury, 29 Oct.

(1)
provided for under Scottish law.

The American Intelligence network was also now focussing its attention on to the Pampero and managed to intercept a letter from Slidell in France to Sinclair in Glasgow. Slidell believed that the interception had been effected in Britain rather than France and complained to Richmond that: "The agents and emissaries of the Washington Government, not satisfied with the establishment of a vast organised system of espionage and the subornation of perjured informers, now unblushingly have recourse to (2) theft and gorgery to attain their ends." At the same time Underwood was making efforts on his own to obtain evidence on the Pampero. He approached Benjamin Haynes, the draughtsman who had drawn up the plans for the suspected vessel. Haynes was offered £500 for an affidavit giving full details concerning the Pampero. Haynes brother was traced to Cadiz, and the American consul at that port arranged to send him to Glasgow to help persuade Haynes to make the desired affidavit. Haynes accepted the American offer at first, but then began to waver - concerned, no doubt, with the repercussions which such/

(1) Bruce-Hammond, 30 Oct.

(2) ORN, 2nd s. III, 960, (Slidell-Benjamin, 29 Oct.).

such an affidavit would have on his future career on the Clyde. He finally refused to make an official affidavit, offering instead to give information confidentially to Hart, the Procurator-Fiscal. He eventually did so testify to the Procurator-Fiscal and was paid £250 by the Americans.⁽¹⁾

Meanwhile, the Procurator-Fiscal, Hart, commenced his own enquiries. He questioned the Thomsons, Patrick Henderson & Co., and Forbes of the legal firm of Moncrieff, Paterson, /

-
- (1) The bargaining with Haynes took place during November 1863. The American Government was evidently not spending very liberally on this sector of its "vast organised system of espionage" for Eggleston gave him a draft for £250 on Dudley, the American consul in Liverpool, who had conducted the investigations on the Rebel ships which had been built in that port and seemed to have been officially in charge of all the American Intelligence work. The latter, however, refused to honour this draft, and a lengthy squabble ensued between the three consuls as to who should pay the money. The dispute was finally referred to Seward - with what results the Glasgow Consular Records do not indicate.

Underwood-Eggleston, 30 Nov 1863; Ibid, 18 December. Eggleston-Underwood, 23 December; Underwood-Eggleston, 4 January 1864; Underwood-Seward, (?) June 1864. (Glasgow Consular Records).

Paterson, Forbes, and Ban, which had drawn up the contract. They all assured the Procurator that the ship was for Edward Pembroke of London and all gave it as their firm opinion that she was intended for merchant service and asserted that they were unaware that there was intention of delivering her to either party in the American war. Hart then informed the Sheriff that he did not see how the matter could be further pursued, except by enquiries in London. He added that the Pampero had been launched and was now at the Finnieston Crane in the Clyde Harbour where she was to take on her engines, and that she was expected (1) to be ready for sea in about six weeks.

Federal sympathisers in Scotland were now growing alarmed at the dilatory nature of the Government's investigation and feared that the Pampero, which was being hurried to completion at Finnieston Quay, would be allowed to slip away to sea as the Alabama had done the previous year. On 4 November, the Glasgow Emancipation Society despatched an urgent memorial on the Pampero warning Lord Russell that her machinery was being "rapidly placed with the view of hurrying her out to sea, which will probably be done immediately, although in a very incomplete condition."

William/

(1) Hart-Alison, 3 Nov.

William Smeal and Andrew Paton, who drew up the memorial, drew attention to the fact that she had originally been fitted up with gun ports, ring bolts for gun tackle, power magazines and shot racks; but that the fittings had been taken out and the gun ports temporarily boarded up "and their appearance as much as possible disguised by the seams puttied and pointed over." The memorial also reported that her construction had been superintended by Southern agents, and that Captain Maffitt, who had commanded the Florida, was in Glasgow waiting to take command. In conclusion, Smeal and Paton urged Russell "to take immediate steps to prevent the departure of this vessel until a satisfactory investigation has been made into her character, ownership, and destination."⁽¹⁾

The day after receiving the Abolitionist petition, Russell enquired of the Home Office whether any reports had been received on the Pampero, "namely the contract under which the vessel is being built, and the facilities afforded by the Scotch Law for enquiry into a matter of this description." Russell requested that, if the reports had not come/

(1) Glas. Emancipation Soc. Minute books and F.O. papers, "Case of the Canton or Pampero." the petition asserted erroneously that the ship had been contracted for by W.S. Lindsay & Co.

come in, they should be asked for immediately as the vessel is launched and is now being provided with her machinery." ⁽¹⁾

On the same day, the report ⁽²⁾ of the Lord Advocate and the Solicitor-General for Scotland was submitted. The document raised several interesting legal and procedural points. It was pointed out that the statute was drawn up in reference to English procedure, and that there was therefore some doubt as to the method of enforcing it in Scotland. It appeared doubtful, for instance, whether the Sheriff (the Officer through whom the Public Prosecution in Scotland acts) could interfere in the matter. The report suggested that the best course for the Government was to assemble a prima facie case concerning the intent and destination of the vessel, then to apply for an interdict against her sailing and at the same time to apply in a civil court for her forfeiture. In the course of these proceedings, the court would determine whether the facts alleged against the owners were in violation of the Act. The document also asserted that Underwood was mistaken in thinking that Scottish Law permitted the Procurator-Fiscal to examine/

(1) F.O. - H.O., 6 Nov.

(2) ...

examine an accused person under oath before before he had come to trial. The suspect could volunteer to make a declaration before the Prosecutor, at which time the latter could ask questions which the accused could answer or not as he chose. In exceptional cases the Fiscal could apply to the Sheriff for a warrant to examine a suspect under oath, but this procedure was rarely permitted, especially since the accused was generally considered to be exempted thereby from further prosecution. The report concluded by suggesting that if a prima facie case could be established against the ship, the court would probably order the seizure of relevant books and papers and would interdict the departure of the ship while the case was sub judice. At the same time the Lord Advocate gave instructions for the examination of Underwood to determine whether there was a prima facie case, so as to apply for a court order as suggested in the legal opinion on the case. (1) On the following day, the Foreign Office sent copies of the Glasgow Emancipation Society's memorial to the Treasury and the Home Office, (2) and the document was published in the Scottish press. (3) On 7 November, another pro-Northern organisation, the Glasgow Union and Emancipation Society/

(1) Moncrieff- Grey, 6 Nov.

(2) F.O. - Treasury; F.O. - Home Office, 7 Nov.

(3) e.g. Cal.Mer., 9 Nov., Glas. Herald, 10 Nov.

Society also sent a petition to the Foreign Office concerning the Pampero. It was similar to the memorial of the Emancipation Society, except that it asserted that the Pampero had facilities for eighteen guns and that the portholes, which had been boarded over, were of double size to give the guns a large traverse which would be useful in chasing or running, (thus indicating that she was a commerce raider). The memorialists urged Russell that "peremptory orders may be given without delay for the stoppage of this vessel of war until a thorough investigation is made into her ownership, character, and destination, that the strict and impartial neutrality of this country may be maintained." (1) James Sinclair, the Secretary of the Society, also sent a separate letter to Russell expressing his "own personal anxiety that your Lordship may comply with the prayer of the memorialists without delay as great exertions are making to get the Pampero off to sea." (2)

The Home Office meanwhile forwarded its copy of the Emancipation Society's memorial to the Sheriff of Lanarkshire, with a request that he furnish any further information he could obtain on the Pampero. (3) A copy was also/

-
- (1) F.O. papers, "The Case of the Canton or Pampero"; the memorial was signed by the following officers of the Union and Eman. Soc.: J. Smith, chairman; Robt. Paterson, convener; J. Sinclair, secretary.
 (2) Sinclair-Russell, 7 Nov.
 (3) H.O. - F.O., 9 Nov.

also sent to the Customs House, which ordered the Collector at Glasgow to investigate the Pampero in the light of the Emancipation Society's warning that she might escape to sea. (1)

At the same time the Foreign Office had obtained the specifications of the Pampero, which were sent to the Admiralty for investigation to determine whether there were any indications that she was a warship (2). The Admiralty reported that it was unable to discover any positive evidence of warlike purpose in the specifications. It declared, however, that the upper deck was unusually thick and that certain undefined parts of it were to be laid with oak, which was necessary to absorb the shock of artillery fire; and also that the bulwarks were to be fitted according to some plan not described. The Admiralty report concluded: "These passages of the specification afford some ground for suspicion." (3)

The Rebel agents were, in the meantime, highly satisfied with the progress of the Pampero, but somewhat concerned over the threat of legal proceedings against her. Barron wrote to Sinclair: "All seems to be going on prosperously with you thus far, but do you not think in view of/

- (1) Customs House-Treasury, 11 Nov.
- (2) F.O. - Admiralty, 8 Nov.
- (3) Admiralty-F.O., 11 Nov.

of the Yankees' watchfulness and unscrupulous use of all means to hinder us from getting our vessels, that you had better disappear from the scene of your late successful operations, and bring all your papers with you. The ship will almost certainly be interfered with and you may be made to appear on the witness stand; and if you be, there is no counting the mischief that may ensue to us everywhere in the realm of Great Britain. Consult Galbraith⁽¹⁾ on this point. At all events send your papers over to me."

Early in November, a new development in the Alexandra case occurred which had a bearing on the legal problems connected with the Pampero. In the course of the trial of the Alexandra in the Court of the Exchequer, the Chief Barron had directed a verdict of acquittal based on the narrow interpretation of the Foreign Enlistment Act, i.e. that as long as a ship sailed without guns on board, it was not belligerent. Disregarding the question of intention, the Chief Barron had ruled that the words "fitting out", and "equipping" in the Act were equivalent to "arming". Now, however, the Chief Barron gave permission for a new trial/

(1) ORN -- 515-6, (Barron-Sinclair, 10 Nov.).

trial of the case by the Court of Appeal.

The Caledonian Mercury, which had all along advocated the broad interpretation of the Act, declared that the Chief Baron had been forced to authorise a new trial by the wave of popular feeling which had arisen against the threat of neutrality involved in the narrow interpretations. The Mercury declared that the intention of the ship was the crucial point and went on to hail the detention of the Alexandra and the Birkenhead rams as a victory for the forces of democracy.

"If we had drifted into war with America over this miserable question, they (the Government) knew full well that the people would then have come into power - not the idiotic scribblers in the pro-Confederate newspapers, or the bow-wow diners-out who get their politics stuffed into them by the newspapers just as they supply themselves with soup. The people whose blood would have been required from whose children's mouths the bread would have been taken, the people none of whose interests that we ever heard of lie in the direction of war with the bountiful Republic which makes them all welcome to its shores - they would very soon demand to know what the war was for, who were/

were to benefit by it and by whom it was undertaken. The Ministry - - - would have been contemptible poltroons indeed if they refused to do right because of the political menaces so liberally supplied by the base journalists who lie wallowing in the mire at the feet of the slave holders."⁽¹⁾

Russell still did not believe that there was sufficient evidence to proceed against the Pampero. However, he passed on the Admiralty report to the law officers of the Crown, and asked if there were any objection to questioning Pembroke concerning the destination of the ship,⁽²⁾ and to try to discover whether Pembroke had any dealings with the Rebels. On the 13th the Home Office asked the Lord Advocate if there were sufficient evidence to construct a prima facie case against the Pampero and requested him, if there were sufficient evidence, to apply to the Court for an interdict against her. The Lord Advocate was also requested to attempt to discover whether Captain Maffit was actually in Glasgow. On the same day the case was turned over to the Home Office. Sir George Grey called upon the Customs Officers on the Clyde/

(1) Cal. Mer., 11 Nov.

(2) Russell-Admiralty, 11 Nov.; Palmerston was also consulted on the case, and he concurred in the course followed.

Clyde to watch the Pampero and report to the Lord Advocate if they suspected that she was about to go to sea. The captain of the Hogue was also asked to give the Customs Officers any assistance they might need. ⁽¹⁾ Russell ⁽²⁾ concurred in the course which they recommended.

Captain Farquhar of the Hogue was keeping a close watch on the Pampero, and on the 14th reported that she was "being rapidly equipped for sea" and within several days was to be taken down the river to some unspecified point to complete her fittings. Farquhar reported that she still showed no signs of a belligerent character, but, he declared, "She certainly could easily be converted into a formidable vessel of the Alabama class." He wrote that there were widespread but unproved rumours in Glasgow that Captain Maffit and a number of the crew of the Florida were in Glasgow with the intention of sailing on the Pampero. The Collector of Customs informed Farquhar that he would not allow her to sail without fulfilling all the conditions of the Merchant Shipping Act (e.g. obtaining a certificate from the Collector) and promised that if the Pampero's agents attempted to move her secretly he would inform the Captain immediately. ⁽³⁾

Efforts/

(1) H.O. - F.O., 13 Nov.

(2) F.O. - H.O., 14 Nov.

(3) Farquhar - Admiralty, 14 Nov.

Efforts to obtain evidence against the Pampero had now been intensified. On the 14th, Adams sent Russell a number of depositions which Underwood had had taken before the Glasgow Collector - "All going to corroborate, asserted Adams, "the evidence at present touching the outfit and preparation of the steamer Canton, alias Pampero, for objects similar to those prosecuted by the Japan, alias the Georgia, issued from the same port."⁽¹⁾

On the same day Russell wrote to Lyons, the British ambassador to the United States, declaring that the trial of the Laird rams was due in January, and mentioning also "another suspicious vessel on the Clyde." "We shall." asserted Russell, "keep strictly to our neutrality as a Government."⁽²⁾

In the ensuing days further evidence on the case was collected/

-
- (1) Adams-Russell, 14 Nov. The texts of this group of depositions do not appear to be extant. Their headings are: Depositions of Underwood; affidavit of Thomas H. Dudley; deposition of John Latham; dep. of William Dayer; dep. of Archibald McLellan; copy of the National Intelligencer of 17 Jan. 1863." Adams' letter indicates that he had previously sent other depositions on the case to Russell.
- (2) Russell-Lyons, 14 Nov. (Russell Papers, PRO.). In the same despatch Russell discusses with interest and concern the growth of American military power, and declared that Britain should have military and naval observers at the scene of the fighting. He also refers to his efforts to save the Reciprocity Treaty with the U.S. The fact that Russell included the two latter points in the despatch referring to the seizure of the rams and the Pampero, suggest that they were influential in changing Russell's policy toward the Southern warships.

collected. On the 16th a deposition was made by Robert Mitchell, a shipping agent who had previously made two voyages to New York. A month previously Mitchell at a Masonic Lodge Meeting, had met a John Murray, who was introduced to him as a New York Mason. The two met almost daily during the three weeks which Murray remained in Glasgow. On the following day, their first meeting, Murray told Mitchell that he had been serving on the Florida and wished to know how he could collect 200 dollars back pay. Mitchell arranged for him to collect it through Thomas Lynch, a Liverpool agent. Murray later told Mitchell that he had seen his former commanding officer, Maffit, in St. George's Square. According to Mitchell: "Murray described the Captain Maffit to me as a young man, rather lower in stature than myself (I am 5'6" in height) middling stout and dressed in a blue Yankee overcoat, reaching down past the knees, with a velvet collar, and was wearing a glazed cap with a large scoop in front, and as having large black whiskers and mustache, and his hair which was of the same colour, inclined to curl, and Murray mentioned that he had been drinking very hard." Mitchell attempted to find out whether Maffit was scheduled to take command of the Pampero, but Murray was uncommunicative on this point.

Murray/

Murray later shipped aboard the Glasgow blockade runner, Will o' the Wisp. On the 13th, Mitchell declared that he "saw a man passing along the breast or quay a little east from the Customs House, and he answered so completely to the description of Captain Maffit which Murray had given him, that "I immediately concluded in my own mind that he was Maffit. I went up to him and addressed him as Captain Maffitt and he shook hands with me. He did not deny that that was his name and asked how I knew him. I told him I thought I had seen him in Virginia, but he told me I was wrong. - - - After we had talked together for a time he said 'I am not Captain Maffit but a son of his.' I tried to find out what he was here for, and he said he did not know." Mitchell had also observed the Pampero at Finnieston Quay and reported that she was pierced for 18 guns, but that the port-holes had been temporarily covered up. He also declared that she had a telescopic funnel. Mitchell declared that Maffit was well known to George Julius Make, a Rebel soldier who had been captured early in the war and later released (probably on parole). Mitchell saw Make frequently and the latter mentioned meeting Maffit in the Queen's Hotel, Glasgow. On the day the deposition was made, Make had been sentenced to thirty days imprisonment by/

by the Gorbals Police Court for the theft of a watch and other articles. Murray also told Mitchell that several of the Florida crew were waiting in a boarding house on the Broomielaw for the purpose of serving on some vessel on the Clyde, although Mitchell did not know whether it was the Pampero.⁽¹⁾

The Pampero now had her boilers and heavy machinery on board and was being rapidly finished. The Collector estimated that she could be got ready for sea in 48 hours and made arrangements with Captain Farquhar to prevent her from escaping.⁽²⁾ The Lord Advocate instructed the Collector to detain the Pampero, should any attempt be made to remove her from the harbour. It was also arranged for a telegraph clerk to remain on duty all night for the ensuing week, in order that, in case she should escape from Glasgow, a message could be sent to the Collector at Greenock so that the Hogue could take steps to stop her.⁽³⁾

On the 16th, Underwood, who had been growing increasingly impatient with the slow development of the case, made out an official application on behalf of the American Government/

(1) Deposition of Robert Mitchell, 16 Nov.

(2) Trevor-Customs House, 16 Nov.

(3) Ibid, 17 Nov. These precautions were approved by Lord Russell, (F.O.-Treasury, 17 Nov.).

Government for the seizure of the Pampero under the 7th section of the Foreign Enlistment Act. ⁽¹⁾ The Lord Advocate, however, did not believe that there were yet sufficient grounds for seizing her under the latter Act; he urged the Home Office to press the interrogation of Pembroke, which had been previously discussed. The Lord Advocate believed that Pembroke's reply would indicate ⁽²⁾ whether there was a prima facie case against the Pampero.

We have already observed in the case of Haynes that it was difficult to obtain evidence from people who knew something of the Pa mpero, because of the fear of reprisal from employers. On the 17th, Underwood informed the Collector that he was in contact with several people professing to have relevant information which they were afraid to divulge voluntarily. Underwood therefore re- ⁽³⁾quested the Collector to summon these people to testify. The Collector replied that he did not have the power to take this step, but referred Underwood to the Crown Agent, who had been sent by the Lord Advocate to Glasgow to su- ⁽⁴⁾pervise the investigation of the case.

The/

(1) Underwood-Trevor, 17 Nov.

(2) Moncrieff-Waddington, 16 Nov.

(3) Underwood-Trevor, 17 Nov.

(4) Trevor-Underwood; Trevor-Customs House, 17 Nov.

The Procurator-Fiscal, at the instigation of Underwood, now proceeded to question George Julius Make. Make admitted that he had seen Maffit a week previously at the Queen's Hotel, Glasgow, in company with two blockade-running captains, Grey and Hoffmann. On the whole, Make was not very cooperative. In a deposition taken by the Procurator-Fiscal he asserted that he had met Maffit at Nassau, but added: "As I feel an interest in the Confederate cause, I am unwilling to say anything that might prove injurious to the Confederate cause, and in particular I will mention no connection or communication that I may have had with Confederate captains or agents, and I will not mention whether or not I saw Captain Maffit in Glasgow, and I may say that I do not believe (1) he is in Glasgow at the present moment."

Hart, the Procurator-Fiscal, now went to the Queen's Hotel. He found it was a haunt of "American ship captains" - most of them apparently engaged in blockade-running. There was no record of anyone staying there under the name of Maffit, but the porter remembered that two men had come to stay there from time to time called North and "St.Clair."
Hart/

(1) Statement of G.J.Make; Hart-Moncrieff, 17 Nov. Make declared that he was 24 years old, a native of Louisiana, and had been a captain in the Rebel army until November 1861, when he had resigned his commission.

Hart reported these statements to Underwood who promised to supply evidence that North and "St.Clair" were Rebel agents.⁽¹⁾ From this point onwards Maffit no longer figured in the case. Maffit, after his period as commander of the Florida had come to Glasgow where he was off and on during the investigation of the Pampero. It was natural that Underwood and others should suspect him of being intended commander of the new Rebel ship, but, in fact, he was preparing to go to sea as a blockade runner. At the end of the year he took command of the newly-built blockade runner,⁽²⁾ Florie, and sailed for the West Indies.

On the instructions of the Lord Advocate, the Crown Agent spent the 16th and 17th in Glasgow inspecting the Pampero and consulting with the various officials concerned in the investigations. He found that, although it would take a month to complete her, the Pampero would be ready to sail in a few days. However, he was convinced that the precautions taken by the Collector ensured against her escaping. Should there be any attempt to take her to sea, the Collector would detain her under the 19th and 102nd clauses/

(1) Hart-Moncrieff, 17 Nov.

(2) Underwood-Seward, 8 Jan.; DAB, article on Maffit.

clauses of the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854, whereby a new vessel required certificate of Registry and a declaration of Nationality before sailing. A gunboat was kept in readiness in case the Pampero did manage to get away from her berth at the Bromielaw, and another gunboat was stationed at Gourock, which would be signalled in case the Pampero had got past the first one. After a personal inspection of the vessel, the Crown Agent reported his conviction that: "From the appearance of the vessel it is plain that she is not intended for purposes of merchandise. She is constructed to accommodate with comfort a very large crew, and her cabin accommodation is not unlike that of an ordinary vessel of war."⁽¹⁾

The Collector, however, now discovered that the Pampero, due to her exceptionally shallow draught, would be able to sail down the Clyde at any state of the tide. This meant that the forces watching the river to ensure against the escape of the Pampero would have to be kept on the alert twenty four hours a day rather than just during the high tide periods. At the same time, the Collector heard a rumour that the crew of the Pampero was engaged to be on board/

(1) Murray-Moncrieff, 18 Nov.

(1)
 board within the next few days. Captain Farquhar now became seriously concerned over the possibility that an attempt might be made to get the Pampero away to sea at night and grew doubtful that the precautions which had been taken would necessarily prove successful in halting her. It is quite likely that he heard a rumour that an attempted escape was being arranged. At any rate he ordered the gunboat Goldfinch to Glasgow and had her moored in the vicinity of the Pampero with orders to prevent the latter's
 (2)
 escape.

In reviewing the evidence which had been so far collected, the Lord Advocate was perplexed as to what proceedings to take in regard to the suspected ship. In the first place he did not believe that he had a prima facie case against the Pampero, and secondly he was doubtful whether, even if he had unlimited information about her, it would affect the legal aspects of the case. He was faced with the conflict between the narrow interpretation of the Foreign Enlistment Act which had hitherto been accepted and the broad interpretation urged by the radicals and the Americans, the acceptance/

(1) Trevor-Murray, 18 Nov.

(2) Farquhar-Admiralty, 21 Nov; Ibid, 22 Nov.

acceptance of which would justify her seizure. She was obviously not a regular ship of the line and possessed no arms, or indeed any overt sign of belligerency. On the other hand, the fact that she was built for great speed and to accommodate an exceptionally large crew, indicated that she could be used as a commerce raider, after certain minor alterations had been made to her. However, in the strict sense of the Act, no one had equipped her as a warship, although her peculiar construction might possibly be interpreted as evidence that the builders had "aided or assisted or been concerned in equipping" her as a warship. He reported to the Home Secretary that:

"These difficulties occur to us so strongly that on the whole matter we are of opinion that any application to the Court for condemnation of the vessel would probably fail, and that mainly because the characteristics of this particular vessel in the state in which she will leave the Clyde, are insufficient to bring her within the description of the Act. - - -

"I own I do not see how we are to reach her, and yet she is so suspicious a craft that I am loath to let her go. The fact seems to be that she has been built expressly to avoid/

avoid the Act; but I fear has done so successfully. It will be impossible to detain her indefinitely without either seizing her or obtaining an interdict, and I do not think we have sufficient grounds for an interdict. But if the Government think it right to go on, I am ready to take steps at once to stop her and try the question." If the Government decided in the affirmative, he requested that they give him permission to question Pembroke and his Glasgow agents as to her destination. They could legally refuse to answer, but such a refusal would confirm the (1) suspicions in regard to her intent.

Sir George Grey immediately authorised Moncrieff by telegraph to question Pembroke and his Glasgow agents. He subsequently instructed him by letter that if he failed to obtain any further evidence from them he should not attempt to bring the case to Court as it would be almost impossible to obtain a condemnation. However, if he acquired enough evidence to build up a prima facie case, he should prosecute the case with a view to getting a settlement on the (2) legal point of the issue.

The/

(1) Moncrieff-Grey, 19 Nov. (two despatches).

(2) Waddington-Moncrieff, 20 Nov.

The Procurator-Fiscal then proceeded to question James Galbraith⁽¹⁾ about the owners and the destination of the Pampero. Galbraith gave the names of the legal owners; Smith Fleming & Co. of London; Robert Simpson of London; Edgar Stringer of London; Alexander Collie of Manchester (originally of Glasgow); L.D. Findlay of Glasgow; Peter Denny of Dumbarton and Galbraith himself. He stated that the owners would either sail the ship themselves or sell her.⁽²⁾

Other witnesses were also examined. John McGibbon, a riveter who had been employed for eight months at the Thomsons' yard, described the Pampero as having eight port-holes, besides two large ones, one on each side. He mentioned the ring bolts for use in moving guns backwards and forwards, which had been put on and later removed when the vessel came under suspicion. He described other aspects of her construction which were peculiar in a merchant ship; she had a larger number of stop-cocks and valves - six or seven on each side with grating on the outside - which was more than necessary for the engine and other normal purposes but/

(1) for further details on the business career of James Galbraith (1818-85) see Marwick, op.cit. 104, Galbraith became managing partner of Patrick Henderson & Co. which in 1867 engaged in shipping for New Zealand and Burma.

(2) Galbraith-Hart, 25 Nov.

but could be used in drawing a magazine; she was heavily plated about her boiler and engine; a magazine had been installed in the after part of the ship; there were at least 150 lockers on the ship and four or five water tanks between decks; she had no cargo space and her hatches were smaller than was normal for a merchant ship; and her rudder and propellor were made of brass rather than cast iron, as was the normal material in merchant ships. (1)

Two other witnesses who also gave evidence were John McQueen Barr and James Ross, private detectives who had been shadowing North and Sinclair. Barr declared that he ~~knew~~ Sinclair, North and Tennant (2) by sight and identified them in a photograph. He related that they had lived in India Street, Glasgow, and at Bridge of Allan, and that he had seen them at various times in both places. He also described them as Confederate naval captains. Barr recounted that on 31 October he had examined the Bridge of Allan Reporter and had made extracts from the lists of visitors which mentioned the dates when and places where North, Sinclair, and Tennant had stopped at the Bridge of Allan. He also reported that he had seen Sinclair several/

(1) deposition of John McGibbon, For a Rel., 1863, I, 35-6.

(2) G.B. Tennant - in civil life a merchant of Charleston, South Carolina, with connections with Fraser, Trenholm & Co., the British pro-Confederate and blockade running firm.

(1)

several times in Glasgow during November.

James Ross described investigations he had made at the yard of Danach & Elspie, boat builders of Ardgower Street, Glasgow. They were just completing two life boats and two long boats for the Pampero. These boats were of unusually strong construction; the long boats had special work on the stem, and between the stem and the aft cross beams there was a thick transverse piece of black birchwood strengthened and kept in place by four diagonal pieces. In the centre of the beam was a hole which a ship wright who had been working on the boats, stated was intended for a swivel for a gun. The ship wright, Duncan McDiarmid, had stated that they had recently been hurried to get the boats finished but that now they were no longer being pushed. (2)

As the evidence accumulated, the Lord Advocate became more optimistic over the prospects of the case. On the 24th he informed Sir George Grey: "We shall have to try the matter at some disadvantage, but I expect to prove with reasonable certainty that she was built with a view to Confederate service." (3)

At/

(1) deposition of John McQueen Barr, 23 Nov. For. Rel. 1863-4 I, 37.

(2) Ibid, 36 deposition of James Ross, (23 Nov.).

At the same time, the Federal sympathisers continued their agitation against the Southern warships. On the 18th a mass meeting was held to form an Edinburgh branch of the Union and Emancipation Society. Peter Redford Scott acted as chairman and Peper Sinclair, the official agent for the Manchester Union and Emancipation Society, was the chief speaker. Sinclair described the origins of the Society in the Lancashire working class and went on to assert: "In such towns as Paisley and Glasgow in Scotland, the great mass of the working classes were thoroughly with them. When the working man took this great question in hand, they should soon have the middle and upper classes on their side also." Sinclair then referred to the Pampero, which he described as counterpart of the Alabama. He declared that it was known that the Confederate agents who had ordered the ship were in hiding in Glasgow and that the ship was undoubtedly being built for the Confederates. He told his audience that he had come "to ask them to prevent it leaving the Clyde." A committee was then appointed to draw up a remon-
(1)
strance on the subject to the Government.

The Caledonian Mercury kept the case before the attention of the public reporting on the investigations and on the/
the/

(1) Cal.Mer. 19 Nov.

the correspondence between the Government and the Emancipation Society.⁽¹⁾ The Mercury also followed development in the related case of the Alexandra and continued to denounce the shipbuilders in league with the Confederates. On the 23rd the Mercury declared:

"It was fitting that a lawless rebellion to set all constitutional rights and legal limitations at defiance should attract to its side those elements of lawlessness which exist in every community. A privateer builder is one who is utterly reckless of all national and international obligations - one who care for no objects however sacred and shrinks from serving no cause however dishonorable. There is one department in which this specimen citizen excels - he can lay the most adroit plans to evade the law of his own country. - - - We have confidence that the full investigation now taking place will result in the settlement of the law forever in such a shape that it will not be left to the unpatriotic money grubs of London, Liverpool or Glasgow to involve their country in international difficulties or even war itself, in order that their reprehensible practices may have free scope and themselves be fully rewarded."⁽²⁾

(1) e.g. Cal.Mer. 23 and 25 Nov.

(2) Ibid, 23 Nov.

On the same day, in a speech to his constituents, Murray Dunlop, Liberal M.P. for Greenock, took a similar line. He also attacked the building of Rebel warships, and expressed the hope that a legal decision on the Alexandra would settle the cases of all the disputed ships. He warned (as the Mercury had done on a number of occasions) that if Britain were involved in any future war, she would be especially vulnerable if America allowed enemy cruisers to be built in her ports as a reprisal for the Rebel warships which had sailed from Britain. Dunlop who the year before had expressed his belief in the success of the Rebellion, now announced that he believed that the Union would be (1) victorious and that slavery would be destroyed.

While the investigation of the Pampero had been going on, North had continued to supervise the work on the other Confederate warship in the Clyde. He was, as we have seen, seriously short of funds by the end of September, but on the beginning of October Bulloch informed him that unlooked-for cargo of cotton had arrived, on which the Confederate Navy Department had a contingent lien. It will be remembered that on 24 September North had requested £5000 immediately, and further instalments of £34,000 at the beginning of November and £70,000 a month after that. Bulloch sent him £5000/

(1) Ibid, 24 Nov.; Glas.Herald, 24 Nov.; Glas.Sentinel, 28 Nov.

35000 drawn from the proceeds of the cargo of cotton, but warned him that he had little hope of being able to pay him the other instalments, unless money were sent over in some way from the Confederacy. He emphasised that he had no means of getting money except from the Erlanger loan and that, as he had no Government warrants on that, McRae was only paying him on requisitions made a long time previously. In view of the stricter British attitude, he now doubted whether any of the rams could be got out, and lamented the fact that North was tying up so much capital in his ship at a time when they were seriously short of funds. Bulloch wished to spend any further income in building ships on the Continent, but promised to send on money for the Glasgow ram if any came in.⁽¹⁾

A few days later Bulloch announced that McRae was going to spend the entire remainder of the Erlanger loan in France, so that North's only remaining source of revenue now was from the proceeds of any cotton belonging to the Navy Department that might get through the blockade.⁽²⁾ Faced with both the lack of funds and the possibility of seizure, North began to doubt whether he could get his ship out. He complained to Mallory that McRae and Bulloch had failed/

(1) ORN-503 (Bulloch-North, 1 Oct.).
 (2) ORN-503 (Bulloch-North, 11 Oct.).

failed to send him money, acting on the unwarranted assumption that he was going to sell the ram.

"The loss to the Confederacy," wrote North, "would be such at this time that no amount of money in my opinion could replace her. All who have seen the ship, acknowledge her to be a most formidable, superior, and well-built vessel: and if we should be so fortunate as to get her out, I am sure to do good service in our glorious cause."

The construction of the ship had been slowed down until the decision should be announced. North felt that if she were finished quickly she would only be detained by Lord Russell, whereas he believed she would not be stopped if the Government lost the Alexandra case. In reply to Mallory's suggestion that the ram be transferred to a French citizen, North asserted that this would be impracticable as Bulloch's rams had been actually sold to a French firm and yet still detained. He concluded by lamenting the number of despatches which had been intercepted by the Federals and declared that: "We have already been more injured by intercepted despatches than anything else." He reported that half of the plates were now on the ram and that as soon as the plating was completed, she could be finished rapidly. ⁽¹⁾

Bulloch/

(1) Ibid, - 504-7, (North-Mallory, 16 Oct.).

Bulloch himself warned Mallory that work on the Glasgow ram might come to a halt unless the Navy Department could get cotton through the blockade. He urged the Richmond Government to take over the export of cotton, rather than let the profits go into the hands of foreign capitalists. "At present prices," he wrote, "200,000 bales of cotton would yield more than double the net amount of the Erlanger loan."⁽¹⁾ Bulloch here put his finger on one of the main errors of the Confederates, and one of the factors which contributed to their failure.

The investigation of the Pampero also brought attention to the ironclad. While inspecting the Pampero at the Thomsons' yard, Captain Farquhar noticed the ram, but⁽²⁾ reported that her construction was proceeding very slowly. Later, the Procurator-Fiscal also noticed her and questioned George Thomson, who replied that she was being built for "a party in London." Thomson offered to show the contract and to give any further information that he⁽³⁾ possessed concerning her. Thomson had given the same answer to the Customs Collector when he had investigated the ram two months previously. Neither official made any/

(1) ORN, - 511-3, (Bulloch-Mallory, 22 Oct.).

(2) F.O. Papers, Farquhar-Admiralty, 22 Oct.

(3) Hart-Alison, 23 Oct.

any effort to check any further on the vessel, so that the Government possessed no evidence on her actual destination.⁽¹⁾

On 29 October, North informed McRae that two payments of £91,000 each, were due on the ram and that he would need another £20,000 in November. Money was also due for the guns and other equipment.⁽²⁾ On 10 November, Barron reported that the ram, which he described as "a splendid ironclad frigate" would be difficult to get to sea, "and should we succeed in doing so, she is so large, has such a draught of water, requires so many men to man, sail and fight her, will expend such an immense quantity of fuel, and will be so altogether extravagant a vessel that I am forced to doubt the propriety of ever owning her." He suggested that she be sold and the proceeds spent elsewhere.⁽³⁾

In the latter part of November, the agitation and investigations centering on the Pampero brought increasing pressure to bear upon North. Writing to Mason for advice, North complained "The plot thickens every day. - - Spies are dodging round in every direction. From one to two are generally on watch about this house." His landlady had been summoned to answer questions in the Sheriff Court/

(1) Ibid, 24 Oct.

(2) ORN, 515, (North-McRae, 29 Oct.).

(3) Ibid, -517-9 (Barron-Mallory, 10 Nov.).

Court, and he began to think that it would be better for⁽¹⁾ Sinclair and himself to leave Glasgow for the Continent.

On the 28th, the N.B. Daily Mail reported that the investigations "still drag their slow length along." Batche⁵ of witnesses continued to be examined and the ship was surveyed by the Procurator-Fiscal. Meanwhile the Thomsons were putting the finishing touches on her and she was⁽²⁾ expected to be finished in two or three weeks. Among other witnesses giving evidence was William McCambridge, who had been ship wright for 13 years and had worked on both merchant and war ships. He had worked on the Pampero as he had been employed by the Thomsons until the previous February, when he went to work for another yard. McCambridge testified that while the Pa mpero was taking on her machinery at the Broomielaw "having some curiosity to see her fittings, etc., from the reports that I had heard concerning her, I went on board of her and went over nearly the whole of her making such examination of her as I was able."

He proceeded to describe further peculiarities in the Pampero's construction which were not found in normal merchant vessels but were present in warships. Her engines and/

(1) Ibid, 519, (North-Mason, 21 Nov.).

(2) NBDM, 28 Nov.

and boilers were below the water line; there were donkey engines fitted at each end of her engines room; her deck beams were placed very closely together; the decks were constructed out of red pine, 4½" thick; she had two double steering wheels, and her steering equipment was similar to a warship (when he inspected her subsequently, one of the wheels had been removed but the fittings remained); the cabins on the upper deck (i.e. gundeck) were hinged for removal so that the deck could be cleared for action; she had 8 port holes on each side raised 16 or 18" above the main deck, so that they could not be intended to carry off water.

"I give it as my opinion, judgement and belief as a shipwright," affirmed McCambridge, "....that the Pampero is built and intended as vessel of war, and to be used for war purposes and not as a merchant vessel. She has been held and reputed to be in the yard of Messrs Thomson . . . by all hands and to be intended for the Confederate States of America, being known in the yard as the second Alabama, second 290⁽¹⁾ and such like names. I have frequently seen two persons pointed out to me as Captains North and Sinclair giving directions and apparently supervising the work; and I recognise and identify the/

(1) original designation of the Alabama.

the two persons in the photograph shown to me." (1)

Similar testimony was given by another shipwright, William Carrick. Carrick had worked for the Thomsons for three years and had also inspected the Pampero. He, too, gave it as his professional opinion that the Pampero was a warship.

The Lord Advocate was now pressing Galbraith for further information. On the 27th, the Procurator-Fiscal wrote to Galbraith inquiring how those whom the latter had named as owners, had obtained their interest in her, and requesting him to send copies of all documents relating to the transaction.

Galbraith had in the meantime been taking legal advice. The owners had now decided to take their stand on point of law, for Galbraith replied on the 30th, admitting that the Pampero had been ordered by Sinclair for the Confederates. He, however, claimed that Sinclair had recently broken off the contract and submitted (among other documents) some correspondence purporting to have passed between Sinclair and Pembroke between 24 September and 14 October. These letters, five in all, appeared to represent negotiations leading up to the breaking of the contract. In the first/

(1) For. Rel., 1863-4, I, 37-8, deposition of Wm. McCambridge

first letter dated 24 September Sinclair declares that the British Government has apparently now determined to prevent any more Confederate warships from leaving port and that consequently he had decided to close the contract and go somewhere where he could have "more liberal action". He further asks that Pembroke return the cotton certificates which Sinclair had paid to him.⁽¹⁾ Pembroke replies on the 29th: "I have seen the parties connected with this vessel and laid before them your proposal for cancelling the contract with me. They are desirous that said contract should be carried out; but if you do not see your way to such, I am authorised to cancel it,, relieving you from further payment but retaining the vessel and the cotton certificates already delivered to account of price."⁽²⁾

This appears plausible on the surface, but it will be noticed that Pembroke here states that he personally consulted with those who had interest in the ship.. As some of these people were in Manchester in Glasgow, this would mean that, unless by some improbable coincidence they all happened to be in London at the time, Pembroke would have had to go to Manchester and Glasgow for the consultations. Assuming that Pembroke received Sinclair's first letter at the earliest on the 25th, he would have had to visit Manchester and/

(1) F.O. Papers, Sinclair to Pembroke, 24 Sept.

(2) F.O. Papers, "Case of the Canton or Pampero", Pembroke - Sinclair, 29 Sept.

and Glasgow, consult with the various owners, and return to London from where he is supposed to have written his letter of the 29th. He could hardly have accomplished all of this in so short a time, and, of course, had he gone to Glasgow to consult Denny and the rest, he would almost certainly have conferred personally with Sinclair, who was there at the time, rather than return to London to write his letter of the 29th.

In the next letter dated 2nd October, Sinclair writes that he is "utterly astonished" at Pembroke's failure to return the certificates and berates him for unfairness. He now asserts that he has received orders to leave England on account of the hostile attitude of the British Government. He maintains that it is the fault of the British Government that he has to break the contract and appeals for a more liberal offer.⁽¹⁾ On the 10th, Pembroke replies "I have consulted the parties interested in the steamer and they instruct me to intimate to you their regret that they cannot deviate from the decision come to - - "Though you naturally look upon the certificates as equal to money for their nominal value, the holders must view them with a difference, and taking the present market value of the securities they certainly do not think they have in them more than the heedful margin/

(1) Sinclair-Pembroke, 2 Oct.

margin to provide for the risk of loss in disposing of a vessel which, though suitable in other respects for mercantile purposes, is so very much more expensive in construction than is required for such - -" ⁽¹⁾ In the last letter of the series dated 14 October, Sinclair complains further of harsh dealing and maintains that the special construction of the Pampero adds to her durability and hence to her value. He informed Hart that the contract with Sinclair had been cancelled on 21st October and that if the British Government would be interested in buying the ship, the owners would ⁽²⁾ probably be willing to negotiate.

The letters ⁽³⁾ submitted by Galbraith are clearly spurious in the sense that they were composed to induce the Government to believe that Sinclair had actually broken off relations with the owners of the Pampero. The occasional references to Sinclair and the Pampero in the latter pages of ORN, 2s, II, ⁽⁴⁾ indicate that the Confederates remained in close relations with the owners of the Pampero and had definite plans for ultimately gaining control of her. The exact nature of these plans are not known, but can partly be deduced. If the case were brought to trial and the owners won/

(1) Pembroke-Sinclair, 10 Oct.

(2) Galbraith-Hart, 3 Nov.

(3) Galbraith declared that they were copies but that Hart could see the originals if he wished.

(4) e.g. ORN, 2s, II, 574-5, 581, 652-3, 772, 789.

won the case, it might be fairly easy to transfer the ship to the Confederates. If on the other hand the Government won, the owners would proceed to offer the ship for sale in a public manner. Galbraith's offer to sell to the British Government was in line with this policy; even if the Government did happen to buy her, then the owners would have made their profit and the Confederates would have lost nothing, as they had paid no cash in the first place. However, Galbraith and Sinclair must have realised that an expensive commerce raider was a type of ship for^{which} the British Navy would have little use, and they most likely hoped that if she were offered for sale, a transfer to the Confederacy could be arranged through some third party.

The Lord Advocate was now satisfied that he had sufficient evidence to bring the case to trial.⁽¹⁾ Describing the new evidence to Grey he declared: "Indeed more is avowed in the documents than I should have expected, seeing that when these letters were written and after, according to these letters, the contract was at an end, Captain Sinclair was in Glasgow and in daily communication with the owners as well as the builders. This is clearly proved by the enquiries I have made. It would have been quite easy to have broken off the contract without according so distinctly the original objects which the parties contemplated. Still,/"

(1) Moncrieff-Grey, 1 Dec.

Still, I have no reason to doubt in the main the truth of these documents or the fact that for the present at least the Confederate agent has relinquished the vessel and that the owners are ready to treat for her sale in the market. It is today reported that she is sold to the Prussian Government..."⁽¹⁾

The Lord Advocate described the legal position of the Pampero as "entirely novel" and decided at first to wait for the decision in the Alexandra case, which was expected within several days, before seizing the Pampero and instituting proceedings.⁽²⁾ Sir George Grey concurred in this decision.⁽³⁾

Meanwhile a cry was being ~~granted~~ raised by Confederate sympathisers against the investigation of the Pampero. James Goldie, a draughtsman and nephew of the Thomsons, John Gilchrist, a foreman joiner, Robert Kinloch, a carpenter, and James Gray, an iron shipbuilder, all workers at the Thomsons' yard, made depositions before a J.P., concerning attempts which they alleged had been made to obtain information concerning the suspected ship. They claimed that they had all been offered either large sums of money or paid passages to America and good Government jobs there. They accused/

(1) Ibid, 2 Dec.

(2) Waddington-Hammond, 3 Dec.

(3) for these and other statements relevant to the dispute, see appendix.

accused several individuals by name, including Comb, A.&J. Inglis, a rival shipbuilding firm, John Reid, a foreman joiner, and Archibald Brodie.⁽¹⁾

Commenting on these depositions, the Glasgow Herald denounced what it called "tampering" with the Thomsons' workers.⁽²⁾ The N.B. Daily Mail also took up the complaint, and waxed indignant over the prevalence of "Mankee spies" and the offering of bribes to the workers. The Mail asserted accusingly that: "Extreme friends of the Northern party in the States forced an investigation by the Procurator-Fiscal." The Mail went on to express indignation at the charges levelled against the Pampero and at the lengthy proceedings which were taking up the workers' time.⁽³⁾ "Latterly, by dint of reiterated assertions extreme friends of the Northern party in the States have succeeded to get the Procurator-Fiscal to take up the matter". The Mail complained that the work at the Thomsons' yard was being seriously interfered with because of the summoning of workers to testify and asserted further that "Now and again have/

(1) for these and other statements relevant to the dispute see appendix.

(2) Glasgow Herald, 1 Dec.

(3) N.B. Daily Mail, 2 Dec.

have Yankee spies forced themselves into Messrs. Thomsons' counting house, occupying valuable time by their mendacious and libellous tale-bearing regarding men and things. How all this hubbub should have arisen we cannot understand. We have seen the specifications of the vessel, and we have fully inspected her as she lies at Lancefield Quay and we could observe nothing that could lend the least colour to the idea that the Pampero is intended for warlike purposes..⁽¹⁾"

The pro-Confederate Glasgow Gazette denounced what it called "the spy system" operating in the docks and shipyards and asked: "Are honest tradesmen to be entrapped and contaminated by execrable wretches, prowling amongst us in a garb alien to all true Scotchmen?"⁽²⁾ In describing the official investigation, the Gazette reported optimistically "There being, we understand, no good grounds for detaining her, she will shortly proceed down the river."⁽³⁾

The Gazette also thundered against the "parcel of spies" operating in Glasgow and claimed that the investigations were being furthered by some of the Thomsons' business rivals. The Gazette declared that: "One shipbuilder looks with a jealous eye upon his neighbour. They are eager to learn the secrets/

(1) NBDM, 3 Dec.

(2) Glasgow Gazette, 5 Dec.

secrets of the ship, that they may manage to influence the Government one way or another... Spies are now going about to invade his neighbour's premises and tell all about it to the Government, pro and con. This is very despicable.. If Messrs. Thomson are building a ship or steamer in broad daylight and if some scoundrel in disguise should get access to their counting house to learn their plans or measurements so as to take advantage of them to their prejudice, what is the treatment he or she ought to receive ? Tie him up, we would say to the Malberts, and give him at once a good sound thrashing . . . We require no domestic traitors, no liars with pitch upon their hands or blood upon their skirts, and our Clyde steamers should sail as freely without our own landmarks as the waters which waft them." (1)

The anti-Confederate Glasgow Examiner observed simply that if the Thomsons were not violating the law then they had nothing to fear from an investigation: whereas, if they were indulging in illegal activities then it was necessary that these should be uncovered. (2)

Controversy continued over the depositions which Thomsons' workers had made concerning the approaches made to them/

(1) Ibid, 12 Dec. The Mail was generally believed to speak for the shipbuilders. The Gazette appears to have been closely connected with that section of the capitalist class which was supporting the rebellion. The latter paper had previously (31 Oct.) praised the work of the shipbuilders that had built the Southern warships and urged that they be given contracts for Brit. war vessels

(2) Glasgow Examiner, 12 Dec.

them for information. Goldie, Gray and Gilchrist protested to the Herald that the account of their evidence had been distorted and that the Herald's article had implied that they had insinuated that it was actually agents of the British Government who had approached them.⁽¹⁾ Comb and John Reid who had been accused of soliciting information from the Thomsons' employees made lengthy public statements denying the accusations and presenting their own versions of the matter.⁽²⁾ Comb who was a foreman iron shipbuilder at the yard of A.&J. Inglis denied the accusations of McGowan and Kinloch that he had offered them any money for information. Comb declared that he had only asked a few casual questions about the Pampero and the ram, but denied that he had offered them any money for information. He admitted that he had asked a few questions of Goldie and that he had introduced the latter to an individual who was investigating the Pampero, but denied that he had offered money for drawings or models. He affirmed that he acted for himself alone without the sanction or knowledge of A.&J. Inglis.⁽¹⁾ Reid, a foreman joiner, admitted having brought Kinloch into contact with two individuals investigating the ship, but denied offering Kinloch money or soliciting any information from him.

(1) Glas. Herald 3 Dec.

(2) Ibid, 4 Dec.

On the other hand, Archibald Brodie, another man who had been accused of making enquiries about the Pampero, took quite a different line. Describing himself as a Federal sympathiser, he declared boldly to the Herald that he had done his best to discover whether the Pampero was intended to be a Confederate warship. He maintained that he was motivated by a desire to preserve peace between Britain and America by preventing a repetition of the Alabama episode. He also denied that he was acting in behalf of the American Government or that he had made any offers to the workers on its account. (1)

(2)

These depositions and letters contradictory as they are, give some picture of the subterranean intriguing which had centered on the Pampero. The assiduous Intelligence work directed by Underwood contributed to a large extent to the ferretting out of information concerning the suspected ship. As Underwood had predicted: (3) it had been necessary to "buy" information, and the workers who contributed evidence were of course under the threat of reprisals and blacklisting by their employers. However, /

(1) Ibid, 4 Dec.

(2) On 10 Dec. Underwood received an order form £200 from the State Dept., and promised Seward: "Those funds shall be sacredly applied to the use for which it has been, with so much trust and confidence, confided to me. And I shall endeavour to guard it with the utmost caution against frauds...which are resorted to by unprincipled persons to enrich themselves by pretended service."
(contd. next page)

However, it seems clear from the welter of conflicting evidence that the effort against the Pampero was furthered by business rivalry and the feverish stage of competition engendered on Clydeside by the American War. At the same time, Archibald Brodie's statement shows that local Federal sympathisers were playing an important part in the efforts. From Underwood's correspondence, and from the circumstances surrounding the memorials sent to the Government by the Abolitionist and pro-Federal societies, it is clear that there was close collaboration between the American consul and the local sympathisers with the United States. The Garrisonians, in fact, credit the Glasgow Abolitionists⁽¹⁾ with playing a major part in preventing her sailing.

Russell/

(cont. f.n.2 previous page) (Underwood-Seward, 10 Dec.)
 A few days later he wrote of the "quite heavy expenditure incurred in stopping the Pampero, and added "Yet I have reason to believe that this expenditure, so far as incurred or authorised by me, does not reach one third of that expended in other cases". (Underwood - Seward, 14 Dec.).

f.n.3 previous page: See appendix.III.

- (1) "In Glasgow the vigilant and energetic measures of Mr. Garrison's steadfast friends, Andrew Paton and William Smeal and a few others, prevented the sailing from the Clyde of a Confederate war vessel that would have been formidable, more so even than the Alabama." Garrison, op.cit., IV, 67, f.n.

Russell was now increasingly concerned over the measures taken to safeguard the Pampero. A short time previously, a suspected vessel had been spirited away in an unfinished state by the Rebels - much to Russell's chagrin. He was now convinced of the necessity of giving no further offence to America or to the British Radicals and workers, and he warned the Home Office to press the Admiralty "not to omit any precaution to prevent the Pampero escaping from the Clyde while the Court of Exchequer is deliberating upon the judgement which it may perform in the case of the Alexandra" and insisted that it was "indispensable that the utmost vigilance should be employed in the case of the Pampero." ⁽¹⁾

On 5th December, Adams despatched a note to Russell drawing his attention to the Pampero and enclosing five of the depositions collected by Underwood, indicating her belligerent character. ⁽²⁾ The Foreign Office assured Adams that the Government would take the papers submitted under consideration, and sent on the evidence to the Home Office. ⁽³⁾

At this juncture the Court of Exchequer announced that its decision on the Alexandra case would be postponed until the/

(1) F.O. - H.O., 4 Dec.

(2) Adams-Russell, 5 Dec. The letter and depositions are also printed in For.Rel., loc. cit.

(3) F.O. - Adams, 5 Dec.

next term. Sir George Grey now decided that "It would be inexpedient to incur the long delay of waiting for that judgement", if Russell thought that there were sufficient grounds for seizing the Pampero immediately. (1) Russell agreed, and on 9th December, the Lord Advocate (2) instructed the Glasgow Customs Collector to seize her. (3) The seizure was effected on the following day. For greater security, the Collector prepared to move her to Bowling Bay and reported to the Customs House that since all of the Pampero's was on board, it would be advisable to employ an engineer to look after it. (4) Russell advised the Treasury and Home Office that "the seizure should be maintained until the questions bearing on it are settled in due course of law, and that no overture for the purchase of the vessel should be entertained." (5)

Patrick/

-
- (1) Waddington-Hammond, 5 Dec.
 - (2) Waddington-Hammond, 10 Dec.
 - (3) Trevor-Customs House, Trevor-Patrick Henderson & Co., Admiralty-Hammond, 10 Dec.
 - (4) Farquhar-Admiralty, 11 Dec. Underwood-Seward, 14 Dec., Owsley, 442-3.
 - (5) F.O.-Treasury and H.O., 11 Dec. The seizure was widely reported in the Scottish press at Greenock (e.g. Glasgow Herald, 11 Dec.; Glas. Examiner, 12 Dec.).

Patrick Henderson & Co. protested to Trevor "that your seizure of that vessel is not authorised by the statute to which you refer,⁽¹⁾ that the owners deny the right of the Lord Advocate to give you the directions under which you profess to be acting, that they also deny your right to act upon these instructions and that they hold His Lordship and you and all concerned liable in the heaviest damages caused and to be caused by your proceedings."⁽²⁾ The Glasgow Gazette was inspired to lament in curious verse the fact that:

"Arms and munitions in plenty are sent
To the North and no edict goes forth to prevent.
Empty ships are sequestered with doubtful propriety
To please the great Emancipation Society.
The law was invoked til each hairsplitting word⁽³⁾
Has shown the whole thing is immensely absurd."

Although the seizure of the Pampero came as a blow to them, the Rebel agents did not give up hope of regaining possession of her. Barron reported from Paris to the Richmond Government: "It is impossible to make even a conjecture as to the possibility of her being restored⁽⁴⁾ to her owners and our chances of purchase."

The seizure of the Pampero by the British Government also/

(1) The Foreign Enlistment Act.

(2) Patrick Henderson & Co. - Trevor, 14 Dec.

(3) Glasgow Gazette, 26 Dec. 1863.

(4) ORN - 567, (Barron-Mallory, 15 Dec.).

also affected the destiny of the ironclad. On 14th December, Underwood reported that the work on her was progressing and promised to take steps to have her arrested as soon as she was launched.⁽¹⁾

At the end of November, Sinclair and North had fled to Paris to escape the net which was being drawn relentlessly about them.⁽²⁾ When the news of the seizure of the Pampero reached Paris, North met with Slidell, Mason, Barron and McRae to discuss the fate of the Glasgow ironclad. Bulloch, as well as the others of the Rebel agents, had long regarded North's activity on Clydeside with jealousy and disapproval. Now they were able to force his hand. Slidell in particular was especially strong in urging the sale of the ram, and the meeting agreed that the step was necessary in view of the fact that the ship would probably be seized upon being launched, and the capital tied up in her was urgently needed for other projects. Galbraith (according to North account of the meeting) was chosen to be the agent for this transaction, and the advice of the ex-Solicitor-General was sought.⁽³⁾ Cairns, who had acted as attorney for/

(1) Underwood-Seward, 14 Dec.

(2) North told Mallory: "I was forced to leave Glasgow in consequence of the system of espionage carried on there both by the authorities and agents employed by the Yankee consul". (ORN -587/8 North-Mallory, 18 Feb.)

(3) see next page.

for the defence in the Alexandra case, suggested that the ironclad be transferred to the Thomsons and then sold as soon as possible. North then went to London where he made arrangements to carry out this policy. Upon returning to Paris, North quarrelled violently with Slidell, who wanted Erlanger (who was Slidell's son-in-law) to be the agent for the sale of the ram. According to North, Slidell grew very excited, demanded to know what was the use of asking for advice and not following it, and ordered that North never consult him on anything in future." ⁽¹⁾ In the latter part of January, the vessel was finally sold to the Danish Government for £240,000 (without her armament). The Thomsons promised to deliver the ship between 15th April and 1st May, unless there was a delay due to further strikes. Since Denmark was then at war with Germany, the contract anticipated the temporary seizure of the ship by the British Government for the duration of the war. ⁽²⁾

The/

f.n.3 from previous page:- Cairns was a leading Belfast Conservative and had been Solicitor-General in the previous Tory Government (vid.D.N.B.). He was strongly pro-Confederate, and was closely associated with the Rebel agents in Britain and their shipbuilders.

(1) from North's memorandum of the meeting and sequel, (ORN, 326-7) This memo. is not dated and is placed in the wrong chronological order in ORN. (i.e. at the end of 1862 instead of 1863). See also ORN, 587-8 (North-Mallory, 18 Feb. 1864).

(2) ORN, 327-9 (Bill of Sale of the ram to Denmark - signed by/ contd. next page.

The Glasgow authorities now prepared to transfer the Pampero to Bowling Bay for greater security. Before taking this step, the Crown Agent offered to allow the Thomsons to complete ⁽¹⁾ ~~their~~ work on her. Galbraith replied that the owners would not have any more work done to her until it was decided in Court whether the seizure was legal. It was proposed by Galbraith that the Crown should allow the owners in order to avoid financial loss, to sell the ship and deposit ⁽²⁾ the proceeds in a bank as a surrogation for her.

The Lord Advocate, in passing the proposal on to the Home Office, declared that if the ship were simply offered for sale on the market, she would most likely fall into the hands of Confederate agents. However, he suggested that the Government might allow her to be sold to some third party, not connected with the belligerents, of whose good faith they were satisfied; then the Government would have fulfilled its duty as a neutral and the loss would be lessened in the event of the legal decision going against them. He suggested further/

cont. f.n.2 previous page:- signed by James and George Thomson and O. Suensen and C.F. Tietgen, n.d.) This is also printed in the wrong chronological order; see also Ibid, 587-8 (North-Mallory, 18 Feb. 1864), 605, (North-Mallory, 16 March) (Underhill-Seward, 25 Jan.). See also Owsley, 442-3.

(1) Crown Agent-Messrs. Thomson, 15 Dec. Ibid, 19 Dec.

(2) Galbraith-Murray, 24 Dec.

further that the Government should give no opinion until presented with a specific offer of this kind by the owners.

(1) The Foreign Office then suggested to the Admiralty that they make a survey of the Pa mpero to see whether she would be suitable for purchase by the British Navy. (2)

The Admiralty, after inspecting her, replied that she would not be of any use to them. (3)

Russell then advised Grey to adopt the Lord Advocate's suggestion that the Government should express no opinion on Galbraith's suggestion until a specific proposition be made by the owners. (4)

The American officials in Britain had meanwhile received information which led them to believe that the Rebels were still planning to get possession of the Pampero. On 28th December, Adams sent an urgent note to Russell informing him that "A number of persons, not less than thirty, have lately arrived from the U.S. with the intention to embark in the steamer Pampero now at Glasgow, on a hostile expedition against the United States. Of these persons, some eleven or twelve, including one Dr. Vallandigham from the State of Delaware, are now in Liverpool, and/

(1) Moncrieff-Waddington, 30 Dec.

(2) F.O.-Admiralty, 6 Jan. 1864.

(3) Admiralty-F.O., 8 Jan; Ibid, 18 Jan.

(4) F.O. - H.O. 23 Jan.

and the others are either in London or Glasgow. Captain Sinclair, who has been here for more than a year, is designated to take command. He has left Glasgow from fear of enquiry and is now living elsewhere under an assumed name.. I am further informed that these are the most daring and reckless set of men, who at one moment contemplated the project of seizing the Pampero and running her out of the port of Glasgow either by force or fraud. This scheme is however for the present abandoned, especially as hopes have been inspired by Lieutenant Maury, who has lately visited those remaining at Liverpool, that the object will be accomplished in a similar way."⁽¹⁾

The Foreign Office passed on Adams' warning to the other department in the case, and Captain Farquhar was alerted to prevent any possible attempt to seize the Pampero.⁽²⁾ The Customs officials in Liverpool launched enquiries concerning the Confederate group mentioned in Adams' despatch, but was unable to trace them. Dudley, who had provided Adams with the information contained in his despatch, asserted that they were all living in private lodgings under assumed names.⁽³⁾ The exact nature of the Rebel plans in regard/

(1) Adams-Russell, 28 Dec. 1863.

(2) F.O. - H.O., Admiralty and Treasury, 29 Dec; Russell - Adams, 29 Dec.; Moncrieff - H.O., 30 Dec.; Admiralty - F.O., 31 Dec.

(3) Morgan - London Customs Commissioners, 1 Jan. 1864; Customs House - Treasury, 2 Jan.

regard to the Pampero at this particular moment are not exactly clear, but undoubtedly they were plotting to gain possession of her. Trevor reported to the London Customs Commissioners: "There is every reason to believe that, had it not been for the effective steps taken to prevent the vessel's removal, an attempt would have been made to take her to sea."⁽¹⁾ That the Rebel agents were collaborating closely with the legal owners of the Pampero is clearly indicated in Barron's ~~xxxxxx~~ despatch of January 22nd from Paris to Mallory: "Just now, however, he (Sinclair) is on beam ends and unable to make a move of any kind; silence and inaction are now absolutely necessary with him. He is in this city with the advice of his English and Scotch friends and with my full approval ... She (the Pampero) is now in the Courts in Scotland, but the owners think she will be able to be cleared of any intentional violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act. In this event, we may yet succeed in getting her."⁽²⁾ On 8th January, Underwood reported to Seward that^a suspicious character who had been associated with the Confederates in the building of ironclads on the Continent, had arrived in Glasgow.⁽³⁾ At the same time, Trevor secured the/

(1) Trevor-London Customs Commissioners, 31 Dec. 1863. In this letter he describes Sinclair's supervision of the construction of the Pampero.

(2) ORN, 574-5, (Barron-Mallory, 22 Jan. 1864.

(3) Underwood-Seward, 8 Jan.

secured the vessel in Bowling Bay and took ashore part⁽¹⁾ of her steering gears as a further precautionary measure.

The legal proceedings over the Pampero began on 16th January 1864, when the Crown laid an appraisement of seizure before the Court of Session. The Thomsons manoeuvred to get possession of her by claiming that £16,000 was due to them as builders, and claiming that she should be restored to them as security for this sum. The following day, another claim for possession was lodged by Smith Fleming & Co., Robert Simpson, Edgar Pinchback Stringer, and others, asserting that they were the owners and claiming possession.⁽²⁾

On 28th January, an information of 98 counts alleging violation of the seventh section of the Foreign Enlistment Act. The counts mostly resembled each other, with only slight variations in wording.⁽³⁾ Then, following a procedure permitted under Scottish law, the defenders challenged the relevancy of the information to the Act. This proved to be the decisive episode on the legal side of the Pampero affair.⁽⁴⁾ The lengthy arguments which ensued, raised/

(1) Trevor-London Customs Commissioners, 7 Jan.

(2) Session Cases, 3s, II, 1033.

(3) Ibid, 1033-5.

(4) for the arguments see Ibid, 1037-41.

raised a number of highly abstruse legal and procedural questions for which there is not the space to discuss here. The owners based their case upon the claim that it was permissible under the Act for them to build and sell warships to belligerents as long as they themselves did not sail in them and commit hostilities. The Lord Advocate, on his part, dwelt at length on the strict interpretation and enforcement with which the Americans had applied their similar neutrality Act, particularly during the Crimean War. He went on to propound the broader interpretation of the British Act which had been demanded by the anti-interventionists during previous months.

"It was argued by the defenders," declared Moncrieff in his summing-up "that it was lawful to sell a vessel however armed; but that would not be material even if sound in law, for the object of the Act was not to put down sales but to get rid of the danger of war. Put an extreme case and suppose Fleming to keep a store of armed ships and advertise them for sale and the Confederates to come and buy, and bring their crew here and put them on board, surely the risk of collision in the Clyde and the danger of this country being involved in war would be quite as great as from any of the things the claimants say are contemplated and intended to be put down/

down by this statute."⁽¹⁾

Of the four judges in the first Division of the Court⁽²⁾ Lord Curriehill alone held that the information was irrelevant. The Lord President (the Rt. Hon. Duncan McNeill), Lord Deas and Lord Ardmillan, accepted the interpretation of the Crown. In the closing passages of his opinion, Lord Ardmillan summed up the majority opinion most succinctly.

"Suppose a man walks into a druggist's shop," Lord Ardmillan declared, "and proposes to purchase poison to destroy a person whom he names. The druggist, whose poverty and will alike consent, afraid of selling the poison, sells him two separate ingredients, neither of which itself is a poison, but informs the purchaser that, by a further process in combination of these ingredients, he will obtain the poison for his purpose. If the intent to use for murder of a particular person and a sale with a view to that intent be proved, can there be doubt that the druggist would be guilty of murder? The proved intention would morally and legally bind together the separate acts furnishing the separate elements whose combination/

(1) Session Cases, s3, II, 1040-1.

(2) for the Judges' opinions, see Ibid, 1042-61.

combination would be fatal... So it may be in this case. The proved intent brings out the reality instead of the semblance of the proceeding. The truth may not always be discernable, it may be concealed by disguise, or escaped from by cunning evasions; but if the truth is discovered, then by the truth and not by the fiction the character of the transaction must be determined."

Applying this principle to the case of the Pampero, Lord Ardmillan concluded: "How can that case be disposed of, except by referring to the intent? The intent explains the equipment.... The intent, when clearly proved quocunque modo, is the discovering agent which rends away the mask and dispels the fiction and brings forth the truth by which the character of the operations on the ship must be determined; that proved, the intent is the cohesive agent which morally and legally combines 'the element of armament', that proved intent is the premonitory agent, pointing to purposed wrong and coming danger, by aid of which this important statute may be worked with justice and effect, as a remedial and preventive measure to protect from peril the (1) 'Peace and Welfare of this Kingdom'."

In spite of the decision of the Court on the relevancy of the case against the Pampero, Fleming and his associates were still/

(1) Ibid, 1061-2.

still confident that she would not be condemned. They remained in close touch with the Rebel agents in Paris who (1) were still scheming to get possession of her. At the same time, the Tories launched a series of strong attacks in Parliament against the Government's policy of detaining the Rebel warships. On the 11th, 15th and 23rd of February in particular, there were acrimonious debates on the subject and Russell was accused by the Tory leaders of subservience to Washington. On the 23rd, Sir Hugh Cairns, who, we have seen, was closely associated with the Rebel Naval agents, delivered an able phillipic, summing up the (2) Tory case against the Government's new policy.

Immediately after the Court of Session had decided on the relevancy of the information, the Crown moved for a diligence to obtain from the defenders various documents, sketches, models, and articles of equipment for use as evidence. (3) On 23rd February, the Lord Ordinary granted the Crown a diligence for the material they desired, and the defenders/

-
- (1) On 15 Feb. Barron wrote to Mallory: "Our friends in Scotland are of the opinion that she cannot be condemned. Should she escape legal forfeiture, it will require great skill and dexterity of management in order to get possession of her." (ORN, 581)
- (2) Hansard, s3, CLXXIII, 427-41, 544-5, 955-602: Cairns speech was subsequently published and circulated as a pamphlet by the Rebel propagandists. D'Israeli, significantly, took no part in this Tory offensive.
- (3) Session Cases, s3, II, 1061.

defenders immediately counter-claimed. The case was continued until the next day when the Court upheld the diligence, although making certain exceptions. A number of (1) counts against Fleming and his associates were dropped. At the same time, Underwood was co-operating with the Crown in compiling evidence. On 29th February, he reported to Seward that he had "placed in the Hands of the Crown Officers all the information necessary for the condemnation of the Pampero." (2)

Meanwhile, at the end of February, the ram had been finally launched, and the Thomsons were anxious to discover the Government's intention in regard to her, since her sale to the Danes had been made upon condition that she were not seized. Consequently, Dalgleish, one of the Glasgow M.P.s, was induced to ask in Parliament on 29 February whether the Government intended to follow the same policy in regard to her as that in regard to the Pampero. Layard, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, replied that he had informed the Foreign Office of the ownership of the ram and offered to stop the work on her if the Government felt that she might threaten British neutrality/

(1) Ibid, 1061-2.

(2) Underwood-Seward, 29 Feb.

neutrality in the war then about to begin between Denmark and Germany. Russell had advised that the work be stopped, but the Thomsons had complained that they would lose heavily if they could not get her off the stocks. Ultimately an agreement was reached whereby Russell gave permission for her to be finished and the Danish Minister gave his word (1) that she would not leave the Clyde while the war continued.

The announcement of this agreement between Russell and the Danish Minister now seemed to offer to Fleming and his associates the chance of effecting a similar bargain with the Foreign Secretary and thus getting possession of the Pampero as a possible prelude to reselling her to the Confederates. On 7 March, Dalglish asked Layard in the Commons whether the Government would accept an assurance from the owners of the Pampero similar to that which they had accepted from the Danish Minister. Layard rejected the proposition in scathing terms.

"I think, Sir, the House will see," he declared, "that the cases are not at all similar. In the one case the Danish Minister, before hostilities commenced, wishing to spare H.M. Government all the embarrassment possible, came forward and gave the fullest information that a vessel was being/

(1) Hansard, s3, II, 1251-2.

being constructed for the Danish Government. In the other case every kind of subterfuge, not to use a stronger word, was used, and every means of evading the law had recourse to, and as a last resort the parties concerned wished to enter into a similar arrangement to that which they had entered into with the Danish Minister,, but H.M. Government declined. In the case of the Danish Minister, he gave his diplomatic guarantee upon which H.M. Government placed the fullest reliance; but in the other case I doubt whether any guarantee could be given upon which H.M. Government could place reliance."⁽¹⁾

Undoubtedly, Layard's reply represented a genuine exasperation on the part of the Government with the tactics which the Rebels and their British associates had pursued in their efforts to get Confederate warships to sea. It was also a reaction against the Tory attacks of the previous month. By making the warships a party issue, the Tories had strengthened the Government's determination on the question and helped to rally Liberal opinion behind it. It was almost a reversal of the situation in 1862, when Russell and Gladstone/

(1) Hansard, 3s, II, 1544-5. Owsley's interpretation of the Pampero case is totally inadequate. (op.cit. 442-3) He accuses the ~~British Government~~ of discriminating against the Confederates, but makes no ref. to this material in Hansard or to the fact that the Danish ram did not leave the Clyde until the Danish-German War came to an end.

Gladstone appeared to be trying to unite the Liberal Party in support of Southern independence, as they had rallied them to support Italian independence in 1860.

The owners of the Pampero then approached E.P. Bouverie, M.P. for Kilmarnock and Renfrew, with a view to effecting a compromise settlement with the Government. Bouverie suggested to Galbraith and Denny that they make out a proposition in writing which he would submit to the Government. After much profession of their honest purpose, Galbraith replied that if the vessel were released, he and Denny, on behalf of themselves and the other owners, would make certain that "by no chance could she pass into service of the Confederate States since we view your action on our behalf in this matter as tantamount to a guarantee of our good faith. So I am prepared to engage that the Pampero be kept under our control in order to prevent the possibility which might arise if sold by us even perfectly bona fide, of her ultimately passing into an employment antagonistic to the neutrality our government desires to maintain to belligerents.... We should proceed to make such alterations without delay as may be by the authorities; thought requisite to satisfy them that the ship can only be used in peaceful commerce, and then we should employ her in the ordinary course of trade and in the meantime that the legal proceedings, which are costing the owners so large an amount, /

amount, should be at once stayed."⁽¹⁾

Bouverie laid this proposition before the Lord Advocate, for his consideration. In the meantime, the Court pronounced an interlocutor officially upholding the relevancy of the remaining counts and appointing the 5th of May as the date for the trial. The Crown then moved for a commission to examine an American citizen in Paris concerning the authenticity of the handwriting of certain documents in the possession of Dudley, the American consul in Liverpool who was directing the American Intelligence work in connection with the building of Confederate warships. The documents referred to were probably some of the despatches of Sinclair and his associates which had been intercepted by Dudley's agents. Dudley had shown the documents to the Crown agents but had refused to let them take possession of them for use at the trial. The Court commissioned a Crown agent to examine the witness and take copies of the documents.

After consulting with Russell, the Lord Advocate delivered his reply to the owners' proposal for a settlements. He pointed out to the owners that "The facts on/

(1) Galbraith-Bouverie, 17 March.

on which the proceedings depend, admit of being easily established, and the legal questions involved, even were they more doubtful than they are, could not arise for decision in a more favourable form." Although rejecting the owners' proposition, he expressed the desire not to bring any heavy loss upon the owners from the working of a law which, at the time of its alleged breach, had never been interpreted by a Court. He therefore submitted the following counter-proposal: "The Crown to take a verdict on one of the counts in the information. The defendants may select the Court in which the verdict is to proceed, and state, if they think fit, the circumstances under which they violated the statute. No further proceeding to take place on the part of the Crown, with a view to the appreciation of the verdict, provided the rest of the arrangement is duly carried out. The owners therefore to execute on the vessel such alterations as the Crown may require to make her in all respects a merchant ship. These alterations being completed, the Crown to permit the owners to trade with the vessel for their own behoof, they giving bond for the due employment of the vessel under such penalties as may be fixed. The amount to be arranged before this arrangement is completed. The registry of the vessel to be so effected as to prevent the owners from transferring her without the consent of the Crown.... Lastly, after such interval as may seem reasonable and provided the above stipulations have in the meantime been faithfully carried out, the Crown to release the vessel as/

as far as the title acquired by the judgement is concerned, the bond still subsisting should the Crown so require. I suggest two years as the proper interval."⁽¹⁾
 Giving his unqualified approval to Moncrieff's proposition, Russell declared, "I think the taking and recording of a verdict for the Crown quite essential."⁽²⁾

An agreement was then effected on the basis of this proposal, and on 5 April the owners stated to the Court of Session that: "Although they adhered to their statement that all the counts were unfounded in fact, they had ascertained that George T. Sinclair had attempted to furnish the vessel with the intent mentioned in the 37th count⁽³⁾ and being advised that the vessel might be liable to seizure, although the owners had not themselves infringed the statute, they had agreed with the pursuer for a settlement of the case." Both the Crown and the defendants agreed that a verdict would be taken on the 37th count without a jury trial, and that no liability or expenses would be imposed upon either party.⁽⁴⁾

On 5 May, the Court formally pronounced the defendant guilty/

-
- (1) Moncrieff-Bouverie, 24 March.
 (2) Russell-Moncrieff, 26 March.
 (3) Charging that the defendants "did attempt and endeavour to furnish" the Pampero for belligerent purposes.
 (4) Session Cases, 33, II, 1063-5: Underwood-Seward, 13 April. ORN, 32, III, 1088, (Hotze-Benjamin, 16 Apr.)
 (x) Session Cases, 33, II, 1066.

guilty on the 37th count, but imposed no liabilities or
 (1) expenses. The decision in the Pampero case was a significant one, generally overlooked by historians of the Civil War period. A curious situation was produced in regard to the Foreign Enlistment Act. The English Courts, in the similar case of the Alexandra, gave a narrow interpretation of the Act, which, in effect, sanctioned the building of Confederate warships, whereas the highest Scottish Court applied a broad interpretation, stressing the "intent" of the builders rather than the technical "arming" of the vessels and thus outlawed the building of Confederate ships in Scotland. The Scottish decision provided an effective handle for the Americans at the time of the Geneva Arbitration.
 (2)
 tion.

It/

(1) Session Cases, s3, II, 1066.

(2) See F.O. papers, Geneva Arbitration, the American Case, p. 70, which, in discussing the Pampero case declared: "At the trial, which took place in 1864, it appeared that the Scottish Courts were not disposed to follow the English Courts in depriving the For. Enlistmt. Act of all force. The insurgents therefore ceased to contract for the construction or fitting out of vessels within the Scot. Kingdom. A similar course in the English Courts might have produced similar results in England." The American Case is not strictly correct in stating that the Confederates made no further efforts in Scotland, as will be seen in the case of the gunboats Ajax and Achilles, although the latter was a much less serious matter than the Pampero. E.D. Adams does not mention the case of the Pampero in Great Britain and the American Civil War, while Scharf declared erroneously in History of the Confederate States' Navy, in ref. to the Alexandra case: "This was the only decision ever made during the/ contd. next page.

It appears, from fragmentary references to the Pampero during the final year of the war, that the owners continued to intrigue with the Rebel agents, although it is difficult to reconstruct the exact nature of their dealings. On 12 May Barron wrote: "The case of the Pampero has been given up by the defendants upon conditions which secure the builders and owners the property value in the vessel, but how, where, and when the money can be had is not known to me. £80,000 of the money received for the ironclad built on the Clyde, has been placed to the credit of Commander North, which I shall not hesitate to draw on should circumstances render it necessary."⁽¹⁾ On 23 November he reported to Mallory: "Commander Sinclair has arranged his affairs in a manner as satisfactory as can be under the peculiar circumstances. I understand you wish not to sell the vessel,⁽²⁾ We lose nothing by her: no money has been paid out." In January 1865 Sinclair was put in command of a blockade runner carrying military and naval supplies for the insurgents, and Barron informed him that: "Mr. Mallory's instructions to you 'not to sell the property' but to take proper measures/

f.n.2 contd. from previous page:- the war by a British court upon this subject, and it justified the proceedings of Captain Bulloch." (Scharf, 784). The British Govt., however, managed to delay the Alexandra case by keeping it before the Appellate Courts until the end of the war, while continuing to detain the vessel by executive order.

(1) ORN, s2, II, 652-3, (Barron-Mallory, 12 May).

(2) Ibid, 772, (Barron-Mallory, 23 Nov.).

measures 'for its safe keeping and future use' are in accordance with my own understanding of his wishes: consequently I do not feel authorised or inclined to issue any order for her sale. Should you, however, deem the property value in the ship unsafe and strongly recommend sale, I might be induced to ask the advice of our commissioners abroad about the propriety of taking such a step, not without."⁽¹⁾

From this correspondence it appears certain that Fleming and his associates secretly transferred the ownership of the vessel to the Rebels, who were then only waiting for an opportunity to get her to sea. The American authorities do not seem to have been aware of the transaction, for there is no further mention of the Pampero in the Glasgow Consular Despatches. It is quite possible that the Lord Advocate had some inkling of those Rebel manoeuvres subsequent to the seizure, for the agreement between the Lord Advocate and the defendants was never put into effect, and the Pampero remained in the hands of the Clyde port authorities until after the end of the war. On 22 September 1865, the Admiralty informed the Treasury that they were still holding her under seizure in the Clyde and/

(1) Ibid, 789, (Barron-Sinclair, 10 Jan. 1865.).

enquiring if it were still necessary to keep men in charge of her. ⁽¹⁾ Both the Treasury and the Foreign Office

expressed surprise that the arrangement proposed by the Lord Advocate had not been carried out, Layard declaring: ⁽²⁾ "I thought the case had been settled long ago."

Russell, unaware of her continued seizure, complained over the Admiralty's failure to refer to him in the matter and wrote: "It was understood that the owner of the Pampero was to enter into certain engagements now ⁽³⁾ rendered unnecessary by the termination of the war."

She was released from arrest and returned to "her owners" ⁽⁴⁾ (presumably Fleming and his associates) a few days later.

The ram had meanwhile been launched, but her completion was delayed for some time chiefly by a strike of the Clydeside joiners which lasted between two and three months and ended in the granting of major wage increases, ⁽⁵⁾ much to the annoyance of the employers. In May, the Thomsons began work on her again; the transaction with the/

(1) Admiralty-Treasury, 22 Sept. 1865.

(2) Treasury- F.O., 25 Sept.; F.O.-Treasury, 6 Oct.

(3) F.O.-Treasury, 6 Oct.

(4) F.O.-Moncrieff, 12 Oct.: Moncrieff - F.O., 19 Oct.

(5) ORN, -~~614~~ 656-57 (Thomson-North, 5 May) 765, 772.

the Danes was not to be finally implemented until the ship was completed, and North had not yet received any money from the Thomsons. While waiting for a settlement on the ram, North made arrangements for sending the rifled guns, which he had ordered, to the South, where the Rebels planned to mount them on gunboats to defend the ports under their occupation against amphibious attacks.⁽¹⁾ Soon an intrigue was proposed somewhat similar to the one involving the Pampero. A Rebel sympathiser, named O'Sullivan, who had been the American ambassador to Portugal during the administration of Buchanan, had introduced Bulloch to a Copenhagen banker, who claimed to have considerable influence in government circles in Sweden and elsewhere. He had already made several offers to obtain warships for the Rebels in Sweden and other countries, and he now proposed to turn over the Clyde ram, through the medium of Russia, to the Confederates. Prioleau, of Fraser, Trenholm & Co., offered to put up the necessary cash for the transaction. Bulloch expressed interest in the proposal, but he had become chronically suspicious of the crowd of European financiers and sharpers who had swarmed about the Rebel agents since they first arrived from America, and the transaction was never carried through.

(1) ORN, - 663, 664, 668, 670, 693, 774, 765, 772.

(1)
through.

North did not settle accounts with the Thomsons over the ram until November. We have seen that at Cairns' advice, North had turned the ram over to the builders, who now determined to profit from North's delicate situation. In August they returned £105,000 to North, (2) but delayed repaying the rest of the money until October, when they presented North with what he described as "exorbitant bills of extras, bills for articles clearly provided for in the contract, and even bills for the entertainm~~nt~~ given on the trial trip, and finally a charge for his trouble in the sale of the ship of £12,000, when I had already paid to the broker employed for that purpose his brokerage fees. With all these charges," North continued, "there still remains in the hands of Mr. Thomson a considerable amount against w^hich he makes no charges yet. So far I have not been able to induce him to regard the obligation sufficiently to hand that balance over to me. I am forced to the conclusion that/

(1) ORN - - 661, (Bulloch-Mallory, 3 June, 1864.). Bulloch reports: "This is not the only occasion upon which he has generously offered to advance me large sums of money under certain contingencies which might have demanded extraordinary expenditure."

(2) Ibid, - - 699, (North-Mallory, 10 Aug.).

that Mr. Thomson means to act improperly." (1) After
 North had threatened to take the dispute to Court, (2)
 a compromise was finally worked out by Galbraith, whereby
 Thomson retained £17,719-6-9, and returned £25, 280 to
 North. (3) The ship was eventually incorporated in the
 Danish Navy at the end of the Danish-German War. (4)

In February, 1864, Bulloch finally abandoned hope of getting ironclads out of European ports. However, his versatile mind continued to occupy itself with schemes for striking at the American Navy and Merchant Marine. On 18 February, he suggested to the Insurgent naval authorities that they should take over the blockade running business and also urged that they build a new type of blockade runner which could be armed temporarily for aggressive/

(1) ORN, 737-8, (North-Mallory, 24 Oct.).

(2) Ibid, 737, (North-Mallory Thomson, 21 Oct.).

(3) ORN, 742, (North-Thomson, 24 Oct. 1864). The amount retained by the Thomsons was itemised as follows:

Accounts for alterations, etc.	£13,225
" " spare machinery	2,669
" " copper tanks	1,417-10-0
" " law expenses	407-16-9
	<hr/>
	£17,719- 6-9

(4) For the correspondence on these final episodes see ORN, 656-8, 679-80, 686-7, 699, 704-6, 730-1, 734, 737-8, 742, 763, 812.

aggressive purposes. These ships, wrote Bulloch, should be "so constructed as to have their engines and boilers well protected either by coal when the bunkers were full, or cotton when they were empty. The beams and decks of these steamers could be made of sufficient strength to bear heavy deck loads without arousing suspicion, and then, if registered in the name of private individuals and sailed purely as commercial ships, they could trade without interruption or violation of neutrality between our coasts and the Bermudas and West Indies. When three or more of the vessels happened to be in harbour at the same time, a few hours would suffice to mount a couple of heavy guns on each and at early dawn a successful raid might be made upon the unsuspecting blockaders. From time to time, two or three of them might be filled with coal and sent out for short cruises off Hatteras and the Gulf of Mexico from Mobile to pick up transports, etc. After a raid or cruise, the vessels could be divested of every appliance of war and resuming their private ownership and commercial names, could bring out cargoes of cotton to pay the cost of the cruise, or to increase the funds of the Government abroad." ⁽¹⁾

In accordance with Bulloch's suggestion, several of these specially reinforced blockade runners were subsequently built/

(1) ORN, 588-90, (Bulloch-Mallory, 18 Feb.).

built on the Clyde. They presented a particularly aggravating problem to the British and American officials who were endeavouring to halt potential Confederate warships. One of the first of these double duty ships, the Hawk,⁽¹⁾ owned ostensibly by the London blockade running merchant, Thomas Begbie, was made a test case by Underwood and Adams, who made efforts to have her detained as a warship by the British Government. In spite of certain highly suspicious aspects of her construction, as well as the fact that while under investigation she escaped from the Clyde to London, - the British Government refused to detain her. She was shortly afterwards allowed to sail to Bermuda with a cargo of "hardware" (i.e., arms) under the command of Lt. Knox of the Confederate Navy. She also carried a number of sailors who had served on Confederate warships.. For some reason⁽²⁾ she remained idle at Bermuda for six months, returning to London at the beginning of 1865. On 14 Jan. Adams again raised the matter of this ship with Russell, asserting that she was taking on board a crew for a Confederate cruiser, for which she was intended to act as tender./

(1) The dimensions of the Hawk were as follows: 531 tons register; 250 h.p.; 230 ft. long; 14 ft. draught; iron plates $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick; screw-propelled; one funnel; (Grey - Baring, 19 Jan. 1865., - PRO, F.O. 5, 1050).

(2) While in Bermuda, she was probably being closely watched by American warships. On 5 Aug. the American consul in London warned the commander of the blockade fleet that if the Hawk managed to enter Wilmington, she would come out as a cruiser. (Glas.Cons.Recs.: "Extracts - of orders & notices to the comds. of the blockd. fleet"

tender. After further investigations, and correspon-
 dence, Russell refused to take any action in the case. ⁽¹⁾

Another ship of this class, the Edith, did actually become a warship. The Edith, built on the Clyde, was partly owned by the Confederate Government and operated for a time as an ordinary blockade runner. In the autumn of 1864 she was armed at Wilmington with a 12 pounder rifled gun forward, a 64 pounder amidships, and a 32 pounder rifle aft - all on pivots. She was renamed the S.S. Chickamauga, placed under the command of Captain Wilkinson, who had previously commanded the R.E. Lee, and sent out on a commerce destroying cruise along the north-eastern coast of America. She destroyed several ships before running the blockade back into Wilmington. Her captain described her in the following terms: "She was more substantially constructed than most of the blockade runners and was very swift, but altogether unfit as a cruiser, as she could only keep the sea while Her supply of coal lasted. She was schooner rigged with very short masts, and her sails were chiefly serviceable to steady her in a sea way." ⁽²⁾ Wilkinson believed that in/

(1) See letters of Russell, Adams, Underwood, et al., in F.O. archives, (The case of the Hawk", PRO, F.O.5/1050)

(2) Quoted in Bradlee, 82-3, (from Wilkinson's Narrative of a Blockade Runner).

in the end the Chickamauga did more harm than good to the Insurgents, in that she attracted Federal attention to Wilmington and possibly precipitated the amphibious attack resulting in the capture of Fort Fisher, which controlled the port of Wilmington. She was subsequently scuttled by the Rebels.⁽¹⁾

The two other Insurgent warships built on the Clyde during the last year of the war were the Ajax and the Achilles. On 30 July 1864, Mallory wrote to Bulloch asking him to construct two small gunboats for the defence of Wilmington. They were to have exceptionally light draft (7'6") and each was to be armed with one large nine inch pivot gun. Mallory did not believe there would be any interference from the British authorities, as the ship would resemble commercial vessels except for the fact that they would have extra strong decks.⁽²⁾ Bulloch contracted for the two boats to be built at Denny's shipyard at Dumbarton, and by the middle of November he was able to report that they were "progressing very favourably."⁽³⁾ Mallory followed their progress with interest/

(1) See ORN, 2s, I and II, 725, (Mallory-Bulloch, 19 Sept. 1864) and 773-4, (Bulloch-Mallory, 26 Nov.); Porter, 820; Bradlee, loc.cit.; Scharf, 818. She sank the Albion Lincoln, Emma L. Hall, and Shooting Star, and destroyed the cargo of the M.L. Potter (Scharf, loc.cit.)

(2) ORN, Mallory-Bulloch, 30 July.

(3) ORN, 767 (Bulloch-Mallory, 15 Nov.); on 17 Nov. Mallory wrote to Bulloch that the two vessels were "urgently required". (Ibid).

interest; on 16 December he announced to Bulloch that⁽¹⁾ they were to be renamed the Olustee and the Vicksburg.

Early in January 1865, the Ajax was completed and Bulloch made preparations for sending her to Nassau. Denny was registered as the ostensible owner and the vessel was put under the command of a Captain Adams. However, a Confederate naval officer, Lt. John Low, was ordered aboard her with instructions to take command when the Ajax⁽²⁾ reached Nassau, and attempt to run her into Wilmington. The Ajax sailed a few days later. The American consul, unaware of her belligerent character, described her as "a small double screw, reported to be built for a tug boat, 340 tons gross, 202 tons customs house register, with a crew of 27 men."⁽³⁾

John Melley, one of the sailors who had been recruited by Captain Adams, noticed gun breaches and other suspicious indications as soon as he arrived on board, and immediately suspected that the Ajax was a warship. His suspicions were confirmed when, on the night that the vessel sailed from Dumbarton, several suspicious cases were brought surreptitiously on board. Finally, Melley, who had served/

(1) ORN, 779, (Mallory-Bulloch, 16 Dec.).

(2) ORN, 787-8, (Bulloch-Low, 8 Jan. 1865). It was arranged for Low to draw on Patrick Henderson & Co. to pay for his coal etc.

(3) Cook-Seward, 18 Jan.

served previously on blockade runners, recognised Lt. Low as a former commander of the Fingal. When the Ajax arrived at Kingston in Ireland, Melley told Adams of his suspicions, accused him of having arms and ammunition aboard, and asserted roundly that he "was not going to be shanghaied". He demanded to be released from service, and when Adams refused, he threatened to make a deposition before the American consul in Dublin with the aim of getting the vessel seized as a Confederate warship. Adams eventually released him,⁽¹⁾ but not before he (Melley) had communicated his suspicions to the rest of the crew. Fifteen of the crew then refused to do duty, declaring at first that the ship was unseaworthy. They were prosecuted, and at their trial the harbour master declared that the Ajax was "entirely seaworthy". Robert Browne, the spokesman for the dissident section of the crew, then declared that the real reason for their action was that the Ajax was a Confederate gunboat. Browne was sentenced to a month in prison, and the others were ordered to return to duty. The majority of the objectors still refused to return, and two of them, Thomas Barnes and Duncan Morrison were then sentenced to six weeks in prison. At their trial, the latter two gave evidence concerning structural/

(1) Deposition of John Melley, 6 Feb. 1865.

structural features indicating that "she is not constructed
 for cargo, but purely for war purposes."⁽¹⁾ The Ajax was
 then investigated by the Dublin Customs Surveyor, who
 declared that she would need alterations before she could be
 used as a gunboat.⁽²⁾ The Dublin Customs Collector repor-
 ted that although the Ajax might be a blockade runner, he
 did not believe she was a warship.⁽³⁾ The Irish Law Offi-
 cers then asserted that there were no grounds for Govern-
 ment action,⁽⁴⁾ and the Ajax sailed from Kingston on the
 25th.⁽⁵⁾ Several days later the American consul attempted
 to visit Browne at Kilmainham prison in order to take a
 deposition on the Ajax. He was, however, refused permis-
 sion by the prison authorities, who were sustained in their
 action by the Home Office.⁽⁶⁾ On 7 February, Adams sent
 a strong note to Russell protesting against the British
 refusal to halt the Ajax and failure "to restrain the
 commission of this systematic abuse of the law of neutrality
 (7)." On 9 February Adams expressed the belief that the Ajax
 was/

-
- (1) Report of Armstrong (Dublin police officer), 18 Jan. The
 defendants testified that the Ajax had 3 decks, berths
 before the funnel a 1 for males, and engines and boilers
 with 2 safety valves under the waterline.
- (2) Report of Dublin Customs Surveyor, 19 Jan.
- (3) Gardner-Larcom, 19 Jan.
- (4) Dublin Castle - Home Office, 19 Jan.
- (5) Baring-Hammond, 25 Jan.
- (6) West-Cannellan, Baring-Hammond, Larcom-Insp. General of
 Prisons, 21 Jan.
- (7) Seward-Cardwell, 11 Feb.

was already cruising as a privateer, and submitted to Russell several depositions concerning the vessel, including one by George Smith, iron shipbuilder at Denny's yard. Smith declared that the Ajax and the Hercules were the strongest ships for their size that he had ever seen, that they had portholes for guns, that their decks were strong enough to take the recoil of heavy artillery, that their sides were very thick and strong, being composed of layers of iron, wood and cement, and that the vessels were referred to as gunboats in the yard. At Seward's request, the Governor of the Bahamas promised to investigate the Ajax and when she arrived at Nassau on the 11th March, two (1) customs officials were placed aboard. The Governor subsequently reported that nothing suspicious was discovered about the Ajax except that she had been placed under the command of a Confederate naval officer and that she had picked up papers late at night from the blockade runner (2) Louisa Ann Fanny. Rawson, however, suspected that she might be intended as a tender for a Confederate ironclad which was then in a Spanish port, and when the Ajax sailed for Bermuda, he requested the Acting Governor of that colony to watch her. (3) As soon as the Ajax arrived in Bermuda,

(1) Rawson-Cardwell, 8 and 11 March.

(2) Ibid, 1 April.

(3) Rawson-Acting Governor of Bermuda, 29 March.

Bermuda, an application was made to ship guns aboard her. This was refused by the Lt. Governor on the grounds that she might be used as a warship. After two lengthy sessions devoted to the case, the local privy council upheld the Lt. Governor's prohibition.⁽¹⁾

Meanwhile, the Hercules had come to the attention of the American authorities. Cook received some confidential information on her from some people in Glasgow which caused him to summon Dudley from Liverpool to help in investigating the case.⁽²⁾ Dudley reported to Adams that he believed the Hercules was intended to be a Confederate warship, and sent along several depositions concerning her.⁽³⁾ On 7 February, Adams submitted the evidence to Russell.⁽⁴⁾ Russell promised to give immediate attention to the Hercules but protested that Adams did not give him much time in the matter, since the Hercules was due to sail within a few days.⁽⁵⁾ /

-
- (1) Hamley-Cardwell, 5 May.
 - (2) Cook-Seward, 9 Feb. (Glas. Cons. Recs.).
 - (3) Dudley-Adams, 2 & 4 Feb. Dudley reported that the Hercules had been ostensibly for the Glasgow firm of MacLeese & Knott, and described her thus: "She is a double screw boat of 220 tons reg. and 500 tons burden, with 2 engines combining 150 h.p. nominal; the hull 170 feet long, 25ft. beam, 11½ft. depth of hold, drawing about 8 ft. of water, 1 funnel, 2 masts, the fore one being rigged, the last schooner rigged, the decks flush, fore and aft. The timbers are of angle iron, heavy and very close, so as to give her great strength, plated over with iron plates, hull 6 in. thick besides the iron plate, deck beams strong enough to hold guns of any size bulwarks low so that guns can be fired over them, water tight compartments in hull" etc.
 - (4) Adams-Russell, 7 Feb.
 - (5) see following page.

(1)
days. The next day, Adams sent to Russell several further depositions on the Ajax and Hercules, including the affidavit of George Smith, referred to above, which contained evidence of the warlike character of the

Hercules. (2) On the same day Russell ordered inquiries

(3)
to be made into both ships. On the 11th, the Treasurer; Solicitor reported that although the Hercules was clearly a warship, there was no evidence that she was intended for the Confederates, so that he had no legal grounds for (4)
detaining her under the Foreign Enlistment Act. The

Glasgow Customs Collector declared that the Hercules was a tug and had no warlike characteristics whatsoever, and further accused Smith of making a false deposition.

Smith's deposition had been made before John Watson, and Trevor asserted that there was no J.P. by that name. On the basis of this accusation the British Government then attempted to prosecute Smith, but were unable to obtain the original deposition from any of the American representatives in/

(1) Russell-Adams, 8 Feb. In his note Russell referred to the successful action against the Pampero and the fact that more advance notice was given in that case.

(2) Deposition of George Smith, 6 Feb.

(3) F.O. - H.O., 9 Feb.

(4) Greenwood Hamilton, 11 Feb. 1865.

in Britain. As the deposition was the chief piece of evidence, the Crown was finally forced to nol proosse the case.⁽¹⁾ The Rebellion collapsed before either the Ajax⁽²⁾ or the Hercules could be brought into action. The prosecution of the workers and sailors giving evidence in the case of the two vessels is interesting evidence that, even at this late stage of the war, the Palmerston-Russell Government had not adopted a consistent policy of co-operating with the American representatives in halting Confederate warships.⁽³⁾

One further Clyde-built warship must be mentioned to complete the picture of the relationship between the Scottish shipbuilding industry and the American Civil War. This vessel was the Shenandoah, described by Porter as "the last and most dangerous of all the Confederate cruisers." The American admiral describes her as "a full-rigged ship of about 800 tons, with so-called auxiliary steam power, and/

(1) Waddington-Hammond, 18 June Mulvaney-Williamson, 13 June; Russell-Adams, 28 June.

(2) See also ORN, 805-6, (Mallory-Maffitt, 24 Feb.) and 808, (Mallory-Bulloch, 1 March).

(3) Adams makes no mention of the case: he gives a picture of close Anglo-American collaboration on the question of Confederate warships from the detention of the Laird rams to the end of the Rebellion. Trevor's assertion (Trevor-Murray, 14 Feb.) may likely have represented merely a local collaboration between the Glasgow shipbuilders and officials, rather than connivance on the part of the Foreign Office. See log book of Ajax (PRO:F.O. 5/1411); "Case of the Ajax" (F.O. 5/1050).

and very fast under either sail or steam." Under favourable conditions she was able to make 320 miles in 24 hours,⁽¹⁾ and was thus faster than any ship in the American Navy.

The Shenandoah was originally named the Sea King and had been built for the China Trade. In the summer of 1864, the Insurgent agents were attracted to the Clyde-built Sea King, which was at that time in London harbour, and she was soon purchased to replace the Alabama which had recently been sunk. For some time the Rebel naval strategists had been planning an attack on the American whaling fleet in the North pacific and the new vessel was rapidly fitted out for this project.⁽²⁾ Despite elaborate precautions on the part of the Rebels, the American authorities discovered that a new enemy warship was preparing to sail. The American warships were stationed off the mouth of the Thames, but the Shenandoah managed to elude them and slip away to sea at the beginning of October, 1864.⁽³⁾

She/

(1) Porter, 817.

(2) ORN, 701-2, (Mallory-Bulloch, 10 Aug. 1864); 707-8, (Ibid), 19 August); 713 (Bulloch-Mallory, 27 August); 723-4, (Ibid, 16 Sept.).

(3) ORN, 736-7, (Bulloch-Mallory, 2 October).

She met her tender, the Laurel, off Funchal, and took aboard her arms and supplies,, as well as her commanding officer, Lt. Commander Waddell.⁽¹⁾ Her battery consisted of four 55 cwt., eight inch smooth bore guns, two Whitworth (rifled) 32 pounders, and two light 32 pounders.⁽²⁾ Her progress was followed with great interest by the Richmond authorities, who gloated over the effects which destruction of the whaling fleet would have upon the economy of New England.⁽³⁾ The following spring, the Shenandoah reached the North Pacific and fell upon the whaling fleet, which was practically annihilated in the course of a few weeks. The Shenandoah thus had an important influence on the American economy in that the whaling industry never recovered from the blow.⁽⁴⁾ The career of the Shenandoah was a source of Anglo-American contention during the years following the war. At the Geneva arbitration, Britain was held responsible for the damage/

(1) ORN, 731-2, (Bulloch-Whittle, 6 Oct.); 733-4, (Bulloch-Ramsay, 8 Oct.).

(2) Ibid, 736-7, (Bulloch-Mallory, 20 Oct.).

(3) e.g., Ibid, 767 and 778-9, (Mallory-Bulloch, 17 Nov. and 16 Dec.).

(4) It had commenced a slow decline prior to the war.

(1)

damage caused by this last of the Confederate cruisers.

Blockade Running and the Clyde.

Blockade running represented one of the closest links
(2)
between Scotland and the American conflict. Glasgow
made the largest contribution of any port to the blockade
running fleet, and the business in turn was an immense
stimulus to the development of the Clydeside shipbuilding
industry./

-
- (1) The chief general sources for the history of blockade running used are: ORN, passim, esp. s.l., V-XXII; ORR, s.4, II-III (et passim); F.B.C. Bradlee, Blockade Running during the American Civil War, Salem, 1925; D.D. Porter, The Naval History of the American Civil War, London 1887; J.F. Rhodes, History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850, N.Y., 1904. (This work is, to a large extent, out of date, but the section on blockade running - V, 396, et seq. - has some useful information); J.M. Morgan, Recollections of a Rebel Reefer, London, 1918; Admiral Hobart Pasha Sketches from My Life, London, 1887; J.M. Hill, Sea Dogs of the Sixties, Minneapolis, 1935; F.E. Vandiver Confederate Blockade Running through Bermuda, 1861-5, Austin (Texas), 1947; T.E. Taylor, Running the Blockade, London, 1912; J.R. Solcy, The Blockade and the Cruisers, N.Y., 1883; J.T. Scharf, History of the Confederate States' Navy, N.Y., 1887; K.A. Hanna, Incidents of the Confederate Blockade, Journal of Southern History, XI (1945), 214-29; J.D. Bulloch, The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe, London, 1883, 2v; see also J.C. Schwab, The Confederate States of America, 1861-5: A Financial and Industrial History, N.Y., 1901; MS sources, "the Geneva Arbitration Papers" (PRO: F.O., 5/1390-1427), Glasgow Consular Records. Also Owsley, King Cotton Diplomacy 250-91; E.M. Coulter, The Confederate States of America, 1861-65, Baton Rouge, 1950, esp. 149-83, 285-308. See appendix I.

- (1) "Case of the Shenandoah" - 5 vols. - PRO: F.O. 5/1384-1388; Log Book of the Shenandoah, F.O. 5/1415. See also passim, Claims arising out of the Civil War - 60 vols. - F.O. 5/1236-1295; Geneva Arbitration Papers - 20 vols. - F.O. 5/1390-1409; Geneva Arbitration Archives - 11 vols. - F.O. 5/1417-1426.

industry. The blockading fleet kept the Insurgents supplied with arms and other manufactured goods from Europe, without which the Rebellion would have collapsed within a few months. To illustrate only one of the many contributions made by the blockading fleet to the Insurgent cause, the European market at the outbreak of the Rebellion was glutted with rifled artillery, left over from the recent wars on the Continent; these guns were bought up by the Confederates and brought into Southern ports by the blockade runners, with the result that the Rebels had better artillery than the Union army which was hampered in the matter of contracts to the native manufacturers who had helped them to be installed in office.⁽¹⁾ Great profits were made by all those engaged in the blockade running business as the price of cotton soared during the famine period,⁽²⁾ and an influential group of business men became thus closely associated with the Insurgent cause.

It would probably be impossible to render an exhaustive account of the Scottish blockade running fleet, largely because of the various devices resorted to to deceive the blockaders and the American Intelligence service. Thus, a number of the vessels changed their names two or more times, while,/

(1) Bradlee, 90.

(2) Ibid, 144.

while, at times, several ships would be sailing under the same name. It is, however, possible to trace the history of a number of the more prominent runners, (1) as well as some salient features of the economic background of the business, which also stimulated the development of a number of maritime innovations: Several of the first ^{steel} steam ships, for instance, were built for (2) this trade, as well as the first twin screw steamers, while the tactic of the smoke screen and the art of marine camouflage generally were developed.

During the first few months of the war, almost any type of ship, including sailing vessels, was able to get into the Southern ports, but as the blockade was tightened, a special type of ship was required. The first leg of the journey from Europe to the West Indies, continued to be made by ordinary steamers and sailing ships, but the final dash from the West Indies to the Southern ports had to be made in ships with high speed and exceptionally light draft - the type of vessel which the Clyde yards specialised in turning out.

It/

(1) This account deals mostly with the Clyde built blockade runners, but there were a few from other Scottish ports - e.g.. the Stanley, a 376 ton iron screw steamer from Aberdeen, which was bought by the financiers behind the blockade running. (ORN, s.1, VII, 463-4).

(2) Bradlee, 33-4, 116. See also J.H. Clapham, AN Economic History of Modern Britain, vol.II, Free Trade and Steel, Cambridge, 1932, p.56;

It should be added that the fastest ships were not always the most successful: the Kate, which could not make more than 7 or 8 knots, ran the blockade 60 times.⁽¹⁾ A number of the ships were commanded by British naval officers, who went out to further their professional experience and share in the profits which the trade yielded to all concerned in it.⁽²⁾ Towards the end of 1862, one of the Rebel agents reported that it was "highly important that light draft steamers should be purchased and used solely for the transportation of cargoes" from the West Indies to the Southern ports.⁽³⁾ This policy was generally adopted by the Confederates, and so many fast ships were bought up on the Clyde that the Scotsman complained: "There will soon be scarcely a swift steamer left on the Clyde."⁽⁴⁾

We have already traced the career of the Fingal, first of the Clydeside blockade runners, which sailed toward the end of 1861. From early in 1862, a steady procession left the Clyde to serve as runners between the West Indies and the/

(1) Morgan, 99.

(2) Ibid, 87.

(3) Vandiver, ~~xxx~~, (Gorgas-Seddon, 5 Dec. 1862).

(4) Nassau Guardian, 23 Dec. 1863 (quoted in Vandiver, loc. cit.)

the ports occupied by the Insurgents.

By the summer of 1862, the blockade running boom in Glasgow was in full swing, as more and more ships were being built or taken over for the trade. One of the leading Glasgow firms which came quickly to the fore in the blockade running business, was the firm of McLeash and McNutt. This firm had already established close relations with the South, and Prettyman reported that both partners were naturalised Americans, McLeash having lived in Charleston for twenty years. The consul described them as violent sympathisers with the secessionists, -- "they having done all they could to forward the cause of the secessionists in this country and also to send them relief and assistance". They were engaged in running "ironware" and supplies into Charleston and also owned the bark Leesburg, which traded between Glasgow and Nassau with goods to and from the Insurgents. The firm made a large profit when the Bermuda, a vessel on which they owned a large quantity of goods, ran into Charleston. In July, Prettyman reported that they had received a consignment of 498 barrels of turpentine and 36 barrels of resin from Charleston on the schooner Sue, which entered the Clyde flying the Rebel flag. ⁽¹⁾ On 1 August, Prettyman/

(1) Prettyman-Seward, 16 July 1862.

Prettyman reported that McLeash and McNutt had 300 bales of cotton registered at the British consulate in Charleston as payment to them on account of goods which they had succeeded in running into the port. The Insurgent authorities were encouraging this type of business arrangement - i.e., the acquiring by foreign capitalists of cotton in the Southern ports - in order to increase interventionist pressure on the European governments. Loans by British merchants to the Confederates were covered by cotton to be held by the merchants' agents in the Southern states and consigned for sale to them when the blockade was lifted.⁽¹⁾ A number of Clydeside merchants and manufacturers acquired cotton in Rebel territory which was later seized or destroyed by the advancing Federal armies. Among these firms was that of Cairns & Co., Brown & Sharp, Kelly & Co., Clark & Co., (spinners and manufacturers), Fleming and Whelys, J. Wright & Co., and William McLean.⁽²⁾

The merchants of Liverpool and Glasgow were indeed looking forward to taking over the Southern trade from those of New York, and this anticipation was carefully encouraged by the Rebel authorities, who hoped thereby to increase their influence/

(1) e.g., ORR, 4s, II, 845-6, (Benjamin-Forstall, 17 Jan. 1862.).

(2) See papers relating to the cotton claims arising from the Civil War. - PRO. F.O.5, 305/84.

influence with the British Government. As one Confederate agent reported: "They (the British merchants) as a mass are friendly to the South, are looking forward eagerly to the future 600,000,000 dollars of annual reciprocal trade between Europe and the Confederate States, and are exceedingly desirous of placing themselves favourably with our people and will contribute to an export fund, the inducement being the placing of interest so important to their future trade."⁽¹⁾ Judah Benjamin, in his letter to Isaac Campbell & Co., summed up the policy of his government in the following words: "We prefer leaving the very large profits to the merchants, (made from shipping produce), being desirous of satisfying your government and people of the folly of allowing their trade to be cut off from a country capable of furnishing such rich fruits to commercial enterprise."⁽²⁾

Contracts were also being established between the rising iron manufacturers of Glasgow and the Confederate states. Scotch pig iron was in particular demand in the South during the war⁽³⁾, as well as iron manufactured goods. For instance, D.C. Lowber, the New Orleans agent of Richard & Co. of New York, came over early in the war to establish business/

(1) ORR, s.4, I, 844-5, (Bisbie-Benjamin, 16 Jan. 1862.).

(2) Ibid, 845, (Benjamin- I. Campbell & Co., 17 March, 1862.).

(3) e.g., ORN, s.2, II, 95, (Mallory-Bulloch, 26 Sept. 1861).

business relations in Glasgow and arranged for shipments⁽¹⁾ of iron pipes from Glasgow manufacturers to the South. The growth of commercial relations between Glasgow and the South paralleled the development of blockade running as a large-scale enterprise.

In September, the Cornubia, a new screw steamer of 650 tons, took on a cargo of munitions and other supplies at Greenock in preparation for running the blockade. Because of damage to her boilers, her departure was delayed for some weeks, during which time Prettyman attempted to induce the Greenock Customs Collector to search and arrest her. Most of the runners departing from the Clyde had their true destination concealed from the Customs authorities as well as cargo, if arms aboard, and were officially registered as proceeding to some West Indian port - in this instance, the Cornubia was bound ostensibly for Havana. Prettyman urged the Collector to search the papers and letter bags aboard the vessel for evidence of her intent to sail for the Confederacy. The Customs Officials, however, refused to interfere, and she finally sailed in December.⁽²⁾ She was commanded/

(1) ORR, s.2, II, 580-1, 585-7.

(2) Prettyman-Hodder, 1 Sept. 1862; Prettyman-Seward, 1 Sept.; Ibid, 5 Sept.; Ibid, 16 Sept.; Ibid, 4 Oct.; Ibid, 14 Oct.; Ibid, 24 Oct.; ORN, s.2, II, 340-1, (Hamilton-North, 17 Jan. 1863).

commanded by Capt. Davidson and was captured in November, 1863.

During the autumn of 1862, as the tightening of the blockade began to be felt in the South, and the cotton famine in Britain became acute, the rebel agents and their capitalist sympathisers stepped up the blockade running efforts. It was becoming increasingly necessary to acquire a special type of vessel to run the blockade, and business men began to buy up the Clyde river steamers, which, due to their speed and light draft, were especially suited to the trade. In September, John Wilkie, marine engineer and ship broker, Glasgow agent for a group of Liverpool capitalists, Cunard & Wilson of Liverpool, bought two of these river boats, the Iona and the Pearl. The Iona, a fast paddle ship of 500 tons, shipped a crew of 12 men under the command of Capt. Copper, and left the Clyde at the end of the month. She was rammed and sunk by the Chanticleer off the Scottish coast shortly after her departure.⁽¹⁾ The river boats were not at all suitable for ocean voyages, and the transatlantic crossings of some of them were something of a nightmare, according to several accounts extant in the F.O. papers. The Pearl a 500 ton river paddle steamer similar to the Iona, with a/

(1) Prettyman-Seward, 16 Sept. · Ibid, 20 Sept.: Ibid, 27 Sept.: Ibid, 4 Oct.

crew of 14 men commanded by Capt. Irving, whom Prettyman
 believed to be an American.⁽¹⁾ She sailed on 15 October,
 ran the blockade to Charleston, and was captured the
 following year.⁽²⁾ Two other speedy Clyde river paddle
 steamers, the Ruby and the Eagle, sister ships to the Pearl
 were bought by John Wilkie for the blockade runners at
 about the same time. The Ruby passed into the hands of
 Alexander Collie & Co. The Eagle made six runs, and the
 Ruby five before being captured.

In October, Collie bought the Giraffe, an iron paddle
 steamer of 600 tons burden and 290 h.p., which had been
 engaged on the Glasgow-Belfast run. She was one of the
 fastest ships afloat at that time, her speed being about
 13½ knots. As the Robert E. Lee she became the most
 famous of all the blockade runners. Collie subsequently
 sold her to the Confederate Government.⁽³⁾

The/

- (1) He described the captain as "rather under medium size, with black hair and whiskers on the side of his face and chin but no mustachioes and a little stooped in the shoulders. His eyes are also dark and he chews tobacco furiously. His age is about 30-32." (Prettyman-Seward, 14 Oct.).
- (2) Prettyman-Seward, 16 Sept., 20 Sept., 4 Oct., 14 Oct., 16 Nov., etc. She also was the subject of an Anglo-American diplomatic dispute - see PRO:F.O.5/1154.
- (3) ORR, s.4,II, 601-2. (Seddon-Cranshaw). The Confederates considered that they had struck a very favourable bargain in the transaction, and orders were given that special preference should be shown to Collie's steamers.

The Insurgent agents were at the time busy buying up lithographic material for the Richmond Treasury Department, and were also recruiting lithographers (as well as engineer and other technicians) in Scotland. When the Robert E. Lee sailed from the Clyde early in November, she carried a large amount of lithographic material and 26 Scottish lithographers, as well as a large quantity of military stores and ammunition. The lithographers spent the war in Richmond turning out paper notes for the Insurgents. Under the command of Capt. Wilkinson, the Robert E. Lee ran the blockade 21 times, carrying out between six and seven thousand bales of cotton. In October 1863, Wilkinson was transferred, and the Lee was captured off Wilmington on her next voyage.⁽¹⁾ The Rebel Government also purchased the Thistle, a 500 ton screw steamer at about the same time.

During the spring a boom developed in blockade running, stimulated, no doubt, by the Rebel victories at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. On 13 May, Underwood reported that: "Within the last three weeks..... not less than thirteen of the fastest and best light draft steamers of the Clyde have been purchased by various parties to run into the blockaded ports on our coast. Some of these purchases have been made, I have reason to believe, by agents of the Confederate Government and for it. Most of them, however, have/

(1) Bradlee, 72-8.

have been made as bold and gambling ventures by private parties, allured by the enormous, but in most cases no doubt falsely reported, profits of the enterprise. One successful venture fires the minds and excites the competition of hundreds, especially where capital is so abundant and unproductive, whilst innumerable failures conceal themselves in the silence that follows defeat."⁽¹⁾

So many of the Clyde paddle steamers had been bought up by now, that there were public protests against the disruption of travel and commerce involved in the withdrawal of these ships from the usual service. At the same time, the Clyde shipbuilding industry was steadily expanding, stimulated in large measure by the demand for blockade runners and by the destruction of American ships by the Rebel cruisers. In the first quarter of 1863, 29 ships were launched on the Clyde, weighing a total of 16,000 tons. During April, 11 vessels, totalling 12,000 tons, were launched.⁽¹⁾

Among the fleet of runners which left the Clyde in the spring, was the Lord Clyde.⁽¹⁾ She left Greenock on 22 May with a cargo of ammunition. When she touched at Cardiff, the American consul attempted to have her detained, but/

(1) Underwood-Seward, 13 May, 1863.

(1)

but the Controller finally allowed her to clear for Nassau. The Insurgent Government of the state of North Carolina owned 25% of the Lord Clyde, which was soon renamed the A.D.Vance, (the name of the Confederate Governor of the state). After making eighteen successful runs, she was captured in Sept. 1864, and incorporated into the American Navy as the U.S.S. Advance.⁽²⁾

The military disasters suffered by the Rebels in July 1863, discouraged for a time the activities of the blockade runners on the Clyde, but with the temporary revival of Rebel military fortunes in the early autumn, the fitting out of runners commenced again.⁽³⁾

The joint stock companies formed to speculate in blockade running, took an increasingly direct hand in the trade from the beginning of 1864. In February and March, 1864, the Rebel legislature passed laws pre-empting one-third to one-half of the cargo space on all blockade runners for goods on government account. Necessary supplies were imported in the pre-empted space on the inward voyage, and on the return trip, cotton was shipped out on government account to pay for more supplies in Britain and elsewhere. The Insurgent/

(1) Glasgow Sentinel, 6 June 1863.

(2) Bradlee, op.cit., p. 129 et seq.

(3) Glasgow consular reports, July-October, 1863.

(1)

Insurgent government also bought a number of runners.

The Rebel finances in Europe were finally rationalised, about the beginning of 1864, and a central fund was established to make necessary purchases and disbursements. The badly deflated Erlanger bonds were now used as collateral and bills of exchange by the Rebel agents in Europe.

An elaborate attempt was made, beginning at the end of 1863, to rehabilitate the loan by linking it to blockade running. The London financier, Thomas Begbie, formed a number of associations to buy up the Confederate loan. These associations then combined with other blockade running capitalists and with the Insurgent agents to send out runners to the West Indies, where they took on cargo for Confederate ports. The Confederate stock was used, with the cooperation of the Confederate authorities, to procure cotton which made up the vessels' back load. Vast profits were reported to have been made in these operations, with one successful run compensating for three or four failures.

Under the new regime, the bonds made a remarkable recovery in the market during 1864, and for a time were priced higher/

(1) The Confederacy gained great profits by means of some of these ships. The profits gained from the voyages of the Coquette, for instance, helped to pay for the Shenandoah. (ORN, s.2, II, 713, Mallory-Bulloch, 17 Aug. 1864).

(2) Report of American consul in London to Acting Rear-Admiral S.P. Lee, enclosed in Underwood-Seward, 22/1/64.

higher than United States bonds. The new Rebel regulations offered preferential treatment to bondholders engaged in blockade running. For every £100 a certificate for 4000 lbs. of cotton could be obtained in Paris by the bearer. We have mentioned above, how bondholders were encouraged to form blockade running companies by being offered the chance to redeem their bonds in cotton if they could bring their ships into Rebel-occupied ports. These developments greatly stimulated the demand for blockade runners and kept the Clydeside shipyards busy during 1864.⁽¹⁾

The demand for blockade runners reached a new peak during spring of 1864, and the trade continued to prosper in spite of a heavy loss of ships. Security measures to frustrate American Intelligence taken on the part of the builders were increasingly strict. Underwood complained that: "There is not a shipyard on the Clyde that is not . . . impenetrable to outside observation..... and should an unlucky workman dare to speak of anything progressing in the yard, he is instantly blackballed and expelled. Vessels are/

(1) See Schwab, chaps. I and II; Coulter, The Confederate States of America, 1861-65, 149-83, 285-308. Hobart Pasha and others engaged in the trade, complained bitterly that the new regulations "reduced profits so much, that the ventures hardly paid". (Hobart Pasha, 179). Owsley, 406-17.

are frequently launched with steam up and scarcely stop before proceeding to sea. Hence it is next to impossible to keep up with the operations going on on this line and extending over a distance of more than twenty miles. At this time, (mid-April), between this and Renfrew, six miles off, there are upwards of 50 ships building."⁽¹⁾

From this time onward, those in charge of the blockade running practically ceased their practice of buying up Clyde river boats and concentrated on acquiring ships specially constructed for the trade. Underwood described the class of ship building in the spring of 1864 as being: "between 300 and 600 tons burden, with three masts, one chimney, long, low and clean decked, made invariably of iron plates painted black, of great speed and strength, rarely drawing more than twelve feet of water".⁽²⁾

The Lilian, for instance, a 550 ton, 150 h.p., new paddle steamer, was built by J. & G. Thomson⁽³⁾ for Lafour & Co. of Liverpool. She sailed on 30 April, made two runs of the Wilmington blockade, and was captured on 23 August, 1864./

(1) Underwood-Seward, 13 May, 1864.

(2) Underwood-Seward, 21 April, 1864.

(3) The Thomsons built a number of blockade runners. (See ORN, s.4, II, 658.).

A new series of five blockade runners made their appearance in June, the first of them, the Falcom, leaving in the middle of the month. These ships were built to a special plan and were somewhat peculiar in appearance. Underwood informed Seward that: "Their three funnels are 'all in a row' near the middle of the boat and ranging from stem to stern. They draw eight feet of water and are built for speed to the sacrifice of almost every other consideration. In the trial trip of the Falcon, she is reported to have made $21\frac{1}{2}$ m.p.h. - not quite so much as was expected of her..... She and all her class, and indeed all blockade runners that go from this, escape their steam under water, for purposes well understood".⁽¹⁾ The building of blockade runners tapered off somewhat during the latter part of June, but soon revived and continued unabated during the summer and, indeed, until nearly the end of the year. The American consul estimated that during 1864 the Clyde shipyards sent out at least fifty blockade runners, representing a total of approximately half a million pounds.⁽²⁾

In July, great interest was aroused on the Clyde by the return of the Fanny,⁽³⁾ which had left a year before to run the blockade. She was covered with Rebel flags and caused/

(1) Underwood-Seward, 18 June, 1864.

(2) Cook-Seward, 15 Dec., 1864. (Glas. Cons. Reports).

(3) The Fanny was owned by the Bee Co. and, surviving the war, returned to the Clyde.

caused a considerable stir along the river, particularly in view of a current report that she had run the blockade between ten and fourteen times, each time clearing profits worth three times the cost of herself.

The production of blockade runners petered out early in 1865. As late as the beginning of March, the American consul reported that the Bella and the Louisa Wallace were preparing to leave, and another blockade runner was launched by Thomson's at about the same time.⁽¹⁾ None of these can have actually engaged in any blockade running. Some of those who had been speculating in the trade, suffered heavily when the war came to an end. Taylor described the effect of Lee's surrender as follows:

"The liquidation of our affairs was generally a disastrous one: our steamers were practically valueless; as a matter of fact, the Banshee and the Night Hawk, which I sent home, and which had cost between them some £20,000, we sold for £6000; two or three other boats which I sent to South America for sale realised miserable prices so that this, combined with the enormous stakes we had imprisoned in/

(1) Bailey-Seward, 2 March.

in the South and which were confiscated, took the guilt considerably off our gingerbread." ⁽¹⁾ On the whole, it was undoubtedly the small and medium-scale investor which suffered rather than the large capitalist.

The Imogene, although she was still fitting out in January 1865, appears to have made at least one successful run - probably into Galveston. ⁽²⁾

Bradlee has included illustrations of several of the more famous Scottish blockade runners in his book. There is a diagrammatic sketch of the Fingal on p.33; a picture on p.73 of the Robert E. Lee, which Bradlee here mistakenly identifies with the Stag a picture of the U.S.S. Admiral Dupont, formerly the Dawn; the Stag, or Zenobia, on p.93; the Jupiter, on p.113; the Lizzie on p. 121; the A.D.Vance on p. 129; and the Memphis on p. 86. The wrecks of several of the Scottish runners could still be seen on the Southern coast near Wilmington as late as 1926. The Antonica remained stranded on Fryingpan Shoals; the Ella on Bald Head; the Hebe between Wrightsville and Masonboro; and the Venus on Caroline Beach.

(1) Taylor, 163-4. Cook also reports losses by Collie & Co. and the Universal Co. (Cook-Seward, 9 Feb.).

(2) Cook-Seward, 18 Jan. Bailey-Seward, 23 August, 1866.

The war resulted in the destruction or dispersal of the American merchant navy and accentuated the tendency of Clydeside toward supremacy in the field of shipbuilding. The connection between the two events is made clearer when we observe that the destruction of the American fleet was carried out to a large extent by the cruisers which had been built on Clydeside, accounting for a large proportion of the American merchant fleet. The Glasgow consular despatches give a running account of these important developments. In September 1862, for instance, the American consul reported that three-fourths of the trade between the Clyde ports and the United States was carried by American ships.⁽¹⁾ However, during the second quarter of 1864, only seven American ships visited the Clyde, and only three⁽²⁾ of them came directly from the United States. The Clyde shipbuilders hastened to fill the gap thus created. The American consuls comment on the expansion and prosperity of the/

(1) Prettyman-Chase, 30 Sept. 1862.

(2) Underwood-Seward, 20 July 1864. He gives the following table which illustrates the decline in the American carrying trade to and from Glasgow.

Arrived within the	ships	tonnage
quarter ending Dec. 31/62	26	16,922
March 31/63	11	7,984
June 30/63	8	5,649
Sept. 30/63	13	9,123
Dec. 31/63	4	3,205
March 31/64	7	4,504
June 30/64	7	5,455

(1)

the industry throughout most of the Civil War period. In reporting that the Inman line of steamers had added two large ships to their fleet (Nov. 1864), Cook commented: "It will be apparent that the void in American tonnage created by the destruction of American vessels by British built privateers creates a demand for vessels which British shipbuilders and shipowners are hastening to supply." (2)

The Glasgow press frequently commented on the growth of the industry throughout the Civil War period, reporting the establishment of new firms and the expansion of older ones. (3) /

-
- (1) e.g. Prettyman-Seward, 30 Sept. 1862. In reporting on the steady expansion of the industry he asserts that there are 27 firms engaged in the business, that from eighteen to twenty-five thousand workers are employed in the industry, and that several of the larger firms employ between fifteen hundred and two thousand men.
- (2) Cook-Seward, 18 Nov. 1864.
- (3) e.g., Glasgow Sentinel, 7 Nov. 1863. In an article on the subject, this paper declared: "The shipbuilding on the Clyde continues to make great strides and almost every month some new feature is observable in its progress. In Sept. two new firms sent from their stocks their maiden productions, and this last night another firm, Messrs. Kirkpatrick, M'Intyre & Co. at Port Glasgow, launched their first vessel." This article goes on to describe the expansion of the older firms.

The firm of Barclay and Curle is an example of a Glasgow shipbuilding firm which rose to prominence in this period, during which they were engaged in producing blockade

runners.⁽¹⁾ Patrick Henderson & Co., whose association with the Confederates we have already noted, opened up trade with New Zealand with the formation of the Albion Shipping Co., and together with the Dennys formed the Irrawaddy Flotilla and Burmese Navigation Co. in 1865.⁽²⁾ The profits made from blockade running were undoubtedly an important factor behind this great expansion immediately after the Civil War.

The American Civil War thus involved a clash of interests between certain business circles in America and Scotland. Some of the leaders of the new and rapidly expanding heavy industries of Scotland favoured the detachment of the Southern states from the protectionist capitalists of the North and hoped that the Rebellion would give them easier access to the markets and raw materials of the South. Although the Rebellion failed, the destruction of/

(1) Prettyman-Seward, 17 Oct. 1862. See also Marwick, op. cit., 59.

(2) Marwick, op. cit., 104. The fact that the Clyde builders concentrated on producing iron steam ships from an early date was, of course, an important contributing factor to their rise to supremacy.

of the American merchant fleet led to British supremacy in the carrying trade of the world - a supremacy in which Clydeside played an important part. On the other hand, the fact that so many Scots had investments in the Northern States, was a factor making for peace during and ⁽¹⁾ after the Civil War.

(1) e.g., Marwick, op.cit. After the Civil War, the American capitalists concentrated on developing the West and made no serious attempt to regain control of the carrying trade.

Chapter III.

FROM THE ATTACK ON FORT SUMTER TO THE TRENT AFFAIR.

Before discussing the trends of Scottish opinion on American affairs during the months which followed the Rebel attack on Fort Sumter (12-13 April), it is necessary to examine briefly the factors in the background which helped to form that opinion. One such factor, which had considerable influence on British opinion in general, was the residue of acrimony left over from the various sharp diplomatic disputes (over the Canadian boundaries, fishing rights spheres of influence in the Caribbean etc.), which had disturbed British-American relations during the mid-century period.⁽¹⁾ They had left a feeling in some (mostly conservative) circles, that it might not be a bad thing if America were dealt a hard blow in some form or another, in retaliation for what was regarded as her arrogant attitude on the several questions in dispute. Closely related to this was the long-term geo-political threat to the European power system (of which Britain was the traditional arbiter) which was presented by the growth of both America and Russia as world/

(1) The preface to the Journal of Benjamin Moran contains what is probably the best resume of these points of contention.

world powers. It was realised - dimly by many, and more acutely by such far-seeing statesmen as d'Israeli - that if the unchecked development of population and resources of these two countries, which possessed such sizeable portions of the world's land mass, were to continue unchecked, they would eventually come to overshadow the European power system in the same way as the Hellenistic and Roman Empires came to overshadow the city states of classical Greece, and as the rising national states in Europe had come to replace the Italian city states as the centres of power at the time of the Renaissance.⁽¹⁾

The American census of 1860, which revealed an unprecedented growth of population and economy of the United States, undoubtedly stirred these fears, and when in the following year the rebellious slaveholders detached the Southern states from the Union, it appeared for a time that the development of American power had received a permanent check. A third related factor was the economic rivalry between the two countries. The Republican victory in the 1860 election signified the rise to power of the industrialists of the Northern states, and one of their first acts was the Morrill Tariff (March 1861), which raised a high/

(1) For an interesting contemporary presentation of this theme, see C.B. Boynton English and French Neutrality and the Anglo-French Alliance in their Relations to the United States and Russia, Cincinnati, Chicago, 1864. (Copy in British Museum).

high barrier against foreign manufactures and caused indignation in many circles in Scotland and England.

The related question of the cotton supply, which has been touched upon in the first chapter, was also, of course, a vital influence upon Scottish thinking in relation to America.

Literature about America by returned travellers was another important influence on Scottish thought in regard to America. De Tocqueville and Dickens are the best known today of these commentators and were also probably the most influential at the time, although there was a spate of books on America during the mid-century period. E.D. Adams has⁽¹⁾ discussed these books and their various points of view. The attitudes expressed varied widely: generally speaking, the more radical writers tended to give a favourable picture of the American scene, with the exception of course, of slavery, while the more conservative authors emphasised the prevalence/

(1) See E.D. Adams, "The Point of View of the British Traveller in America," Political Science Quarterly, XXIX, 244-64, (1914). See also G.H. Putnam, "The London Times and the American Civil War", Putnam's Monthly, V, 183-91. Putnam declares that Delane persistently distorted American facts and issued in order to further his own conservative political ideas, and that thereby he contributed to the hostility which existed then between Britain and America. Putnam also asserts that pro-Union sentiment was far stronger in Scotland than in England.

prevalence of corruption and anti-intellectualism, as well as other disagreeable features of American democracy. The Civil War inspired a number of further books on America, the more important of which will be dealt with later.

The Times exercised a powerful influence in Scotland as well as in England. It was regarded as being almost infallible, and its opinions on the war were repeated with by a number of Scottish papers. Its editor, Delane, ⁽¹⁾ was closely associated with Palmerston, who would sometimes "inspire" articles on important occasions. At the beginning of the war, Delane sent William Howard Russell, the leading Foreign Correspondent of the day, to America. Russell's articles from America in the first stages of the war, and later his book, ⁽³⁾ were widely read and reprinted in Scotland. Although somewhat critical of the Unionists, Russell was strongly opposed to slavery. ⁽²⁾ and the Southern ruling class, and his articles did something to check the growth of the Southern Gentleman Myth among the British upper classes.

After writing a vivid account of the disorderly retreat made/

(1) Delane was also closely associated with the Blackwoods. See Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland.

(2) e.g., his article on slavery in the Times, 30 May, 1861, which was particularly influential - E.D. Adams, on.cit. I, 203.

(3) W.H. Russell, My Diary North and South, London, 1862.

made by several Union regiments after the first Battle of Bull Run, he was expelled from the war zone by the American Secretary of War, and subsequently returned home. His place as the Times correspondent was taken by Charles MacKay, who associated with Confederate sympathisers in the Northern states and wrote pro-Confederate articles, in which the news was strongly slanted to encourage British support for the "Southern Gentlemen" of the Confederacy. His accounts were increasingly distorted, not only to encourage sympathy for the Confederates, but to create a highly exaggerated and false picture of their actual military position and chance of success. After the war was over, Delane wrote to MacKay sternly rebuking him for giving a false picture of the Rebels' prospects, yet it appears that previously the editor had encouraged MacKay to give a favourable picture of the Confederate prospects.⁽¹⁾ The pro-Confederate attitude of the Times caused considerable resentment in America where it was regarded as representing the views of the Government. Pro-Union Scots did their best to convince their American friends that the Times did not represent the popular attitude to/

(1) History of the Times, II, (London, 1939), 359-91: Jordan & Pratt, loc.cit. et seq. John Bigelow asserted that Delane (as well as Gladstone and other Confederate sympathisers) had invested heavily in the Rebel Cotton Loan. (J. Bigelow, Lest We Forget Gladstone, Morley, and the Conf. Cotton Loan of 1863, N.Y., 1905, see also Bigelow's Retrospections of an Active Life, 5 vols., N.Y., 1909, I and II, *passim*.)

(1)
to the Civil War. Bigelow accused Delane of having
(together with Gladstone and other leading Confederate sym-
pathisers) subscribed heavily to the Confederate Cotton Loan.
Moran believed that stock speculation was the motive behind
much of the suppression and distortion of the news on the part
of the press. (2)

Another influential reporter, the redoubt-
able George Augustus Sala, spent thirteen months in America
as correspondent for the Daily Telegraph. His articles were
also strongly pro-Southern. A third journalist who caused
considerable damage to the Unionist cause was Joseph Scoville,
a former secretary to Calhoun. Scoville was associated with
the Copperhead (pro-Confederate) movement in the Northern
states, and wrote anti-Unionist articles for the Standard,
under the pseudonym of "Manhattan". The efforts of these
three were counteracted to some extent by several pro-Unionist
reporters, such as F.M. Edge, correspondent for the Star. (3)
Reuter's/

(1) e.g. Duchess of Argyll - Sumner, 21 July, 1864, (Letters
of the Duke and Duchess of Argyll to Charles Sumner, ed.
H.G. Pearson, Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings
(JPMHA), XLVII, ((1914), 66-106).

(2) Journal of Benjamin Moran, II, 928-9. Bigelow reported
to Seward, (Moran, op.cit., II, (33, f.n.16) that Peabody
& Co. were exaggerating Rebel successes (in 1862) in order
to induce a panic among European investors in the United
States in order to make them liquidate, and that Peabody's
bank was profiteering from these transactions. - Bigelow,
Retrospections, I, 510-11.

(3) Jordan & Pratt, op.cit., 399.

Reuter's was accused by Union sympathisers of issuing news reports with a consistently pro-Confederate bias.⁽¹⁾ This bias was aided by the British public, who were generally not very well informed about America. The History of the Times states, with some exaggeration, that "the British public was at once without knowledge and without understanding of the problems and the situation of the United States of America",⁽²⁾ while the Edinburgh Review asserted: "Englishmen, even well-educated Englishmen,⁽³⁾ have had for the most part but a faint idea of the real character and peculiar advantages or disadvantages of the American governments."⁽⁴⁾

On the other hand, sympathy for the Union was widespread among radicals and workers. Radical entrepreneurs such as Cobden and Andrew Carnegie admired America for its free enterprise and its lack of customs between the various states, and for the absence of a hereditary aristocracy. Evangelical Protestants admired the Constitutional prohibition of an Erastian/

- (1) Moran op.cit., II, 868, f.n.16: Ibid, 887, where Moran states that many of Reuter's wires were composed in London, all of them biased for Rebels. The Spectator wrote similarly, (5 Oct., 1861).
- (2) History of the Times, II, 359.
- (3) i.e. Britons.
- (4) Edinburgh Review, CXVI, 563. The Ed. Rev. itself was not above being confused on American matters; e.g., it referred to the Congressional Resolution prohibiting interference with slavery (passed 3 March 1861) as a Constitutional Amendment. (Ibid, CIV, 559).

Erastian established Church and had traditionally maintained close contact with American Protestant denominations.

The Abolitionists maintained close ties and sympathies with their fellow workers in the Northern states. The workers were attracted by the relative freedom for labour and opportunities for advancement which prevailed in the Northern and Western states. Those who supported John Bright's demand for a more democratic franchise, sympathised with America as a successful experiment in universal suffrage. And finally, the masses of underprivileged looked to America as a country where the immigrant could improve his position, either in the expanding industrial belt of the Northeast, or as a farmer in the Western territories, which were finally reserved for free settlers by the Republican-inspired Homestead Act of 1862.

The same trends of opinion concerning America were present in Scotland at the outbreak of the Civil War. An advanced type of liberalism was prevalent in many parts of Scotland, particularly Clydeside and in the industrial towns of southwest Scotland. In Edinburgh, radicalism had grown especially cohesive and self-conscious in the course of the struggle against the Annuity Tax, which was levied on all Edinburgh ratepayers, and was used to support the Erastian Establishment. This was particularly galling to Free Churchmen in view of the fact that the Residuary Church had relatively/

relatively few members in Edinburgh, where the Free Church had enlisted most of the members of the Establishment at the time of the Disruption.

There were fairly well-defined political groups in Edinburgh. The Tories, whose organ was the Courant,⁽¹⁾ received most of their support from the Erastians. The Whigs with whom the Scotsman identified itself later, were supported by some Erastians and also by some more conservative members of the evangelical denominations. The Radicals were supported by the United Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, and most Free Churchmen. Duncan MacLaren of the United Presbyterians, was the leader of the latter group, and the Caledonian Mercury put forward its political views which included the extension of the franchise to the working class, as well as abolition of the Annuity Tax. Political feelings were intense, particularly between the radicals and the other two groups, and the leaders were at times not even on speaking terms with each other.⁽²⁾

The Caledonian Mercury carried on a running battle with the Tories and the Whigs on most of the basic issues of the day. It opposed the British actions against China and Palmerstonian/

(1) The full title of the Courant referred to here was the Edinburgh Evening Courant, except for a period in 1860, when it was called the Daily Courant. Its editor up to 1860 was the Rev. Wm. Buchanan. In 1860, James Hannay became editor.

(2) See the papers of Alex. Russel, , . . of the Scotsman

Palmerstonian diplomacy in general: it supported the right of labour to shorter hours, better housing conditions and a generally fuller life, and also demanded that women be admitted to the medical and other professions. It led the campaign against the decision in the Cardross case, whereby the Free Church was denied the right to choose its own ministers - a decision which seemed to many Scots to overthrow the legal basis of religious freedom which had been established in 1690.⁽¹⁾ The Mercury was staunchly pro-Union throughout the War, in striking contrast to the liberal press in Glasgow, which was unanimous in support of the Secession cause. Glasgow was, of course, predominantly liberal, but no clear-cut, pro-American radical party had developed as in Edinburgh. Several of the leading radical organs in the provinces followed the Caledonian Mercury in supporting the Union; among these papers were the Dundee advertiser, the Aberdeen Journal, and the Saltcoats and Ardrossan Herald.

The leaders of the pro-American radical party in Edinburgh were mostly self-made men who had risen to prominence in the wake of the industrial revolution. Duncan MacLaren/

(1) The Mercury was staunchly Protestant and took a leading part in the religious controversies of the day. On the one hand it fought against secularism and free thought, and the racialist doctrine put forward by certain leaders of these movements: on the other hand it attacked
 red / contd. next page.

MacLaren, who had begun life as an obscure draper, had risen to be a large scale entrepreneur by the sixties. Charles Cowan, the Free Churchman who defeated Macauley in the election of 1847, was a paper manufacturer. The Wigham family was connected with the rise of the Paisley shawl industry in the earlier part of the century. They were the strongest supporters of the American institutions, with the exception of slavery.⁽¹⁾ There appears during this period to have been considerable community of political interest between these Radical leaders and the Edinburgh working class, as compared with the situation in Glasgow, where the workers were not so ready to follow the lead of the liberal manufacturers, but looked rather to such labour leaders as Alexander MacDonald, the miners' leader, and Alexander Campbell, organiser of the Glasgow Trades Council and editor of the labour Glasgow Sentinel. Ideological trends were also on a somewhat different basis from those in Edinburgh. Religious and political differences were not quite so closely identified in Glasgow, and in addition, MacDonald and Campbell were doctrinaire Owenites, opposed on secularist grounds to religion in general and the Protestant Church in particular. The advanced/

cont. f.n.1. previous page:- attacked Erastianism, Puseyism, and Ultramontaniam - the fashionable heresies of the upper classes in the mid-Victorian period.

(1) See J.B. MacKie, Life of Duncan MacLaren, 2 vols., London, 1888; Charles Cowan, Reminiscences, Edin. 1878; Warwick, op.cit.

The advanced Liberals on Clydeside admired American democracy, but many of them supported secession - as indeed did MacDonald and Campbell.

The Scottish Tories had been a political minority since the first Reform Act, and in Edinburgh they had been out of office since that time. They had consequently acquired a good deal of bitterness, the truculence and general crankiness which are often to be found in permanent minority parties. The party's chief organ in the West of Scotland, the Glasgow Herald, preached a relatively milder and more reasonable brand of conservatism, compared with the wing of the party centered in Edinburgh, and represented by the Courant and Blackwood's Magazine. The latter group reacted to the problems of the Industrial Revolution by retreating (with the aid of Scott's novels) into a world of neo-gothic romance. They enjoyed imagining themselves in medieval roles, and as they wrote their pro Confederate articles at the time of the Civil War, they liked to imagine that they were Cavaliers, sabering and riding down the Roundheads and Covenanters. They were strongly Erastian : Church/

(1) See the Blackwood Papers (MSS Section, Nat. Library of Scotland) and the biography of the Blackwoods by Mrs. Oliphant.

Church affairs, and highly reactionary in secular politics. By the Sixties they were under the influence of Carlyle, and longed for a strong man, or a rejuvenated aristocracy, to put an end to the advance of democracy. Garnet Wolseley, one of the Blackwood's circle, was, in fact, Carlyle's candidate for military dictator in 1867. They professed to believe that such pacific Radical leaders as Bright and MacLaren were sinister demagogues, organising the masses in preparation for a violent revolution. They detested America and most aspects of American life, although they admired the slaveholding class in the Southern states.

The letters of George Robert Gleig to Blackwood provide good illustrations of this trend of thought. Gleig, who was Chaplain-General and a contributor to the Maga, was strongly opposed to the "ultra-Abolitionists", although he expressed a desire for "eventual emancipation" to be achieved by a process of "education" of masters and slaves. He also desired that America should develop into a hierarchical class society, ruled by an aristocracy which would "dutifully" imitate the ways of the English upper class. Gleig believed that the American people should "behave more English. Law must be more respected.... Furthermore, American writers and intellectuals should stop agitating against/

against slavery and should instead make an effort to "anglify the ruling classes. A dutiful appreciation of English taste and manners, and a dutiful study of the English language".⁽¹⁾ At least one leading Scottish Tory, the Earl of Dunmore, had close family ties in Virginia.⁽²⁾

It is more difficult to generalise about the Scottish Whig party. Their political outlook (although not, of course, their specific tenets) was more akin to present conservatism than that of the Scottish Tories. They disliked radical democracy, but were willing as a last resort to make certain concessions to blunt its edge. They tended to Erastianism in Church affairs, and in politics supported the Palmerston - Russell Cabinet. They had no distinct "party line" in regard to America although they tended to frown on things American. On the one hand, Alexander Russell, editor of the leading Whig paper, the Scotsman, was strongly anti-American. On the other hand, the Duke of Argyll, a prominent figure in Palmerston's government, was strongly sympathetic towards America and a friend of Charles Sumner, the great American Radical.⁽³⁾

(1) See Gleig-Blackwood correspondence, 1855-56, Blackwood Papers.

(2) Cal. Mer., 25 July, 1862, see also J.M. Morgan, Recollections of a Rebel Reefer, 102-3.

(3) See "Letters of the Duke and Duchess of Argyll to Charles Sumner", loc. cit.; and George Douglas, Eighth Duke of Argyll, ed. Dowager Duchess of Argyll, London, 1906, 2 vols.

At the very opening of the American conflict, the Edinburgh Review published an important unsigned article by Cornwall Lewis, at that time Home Secretary in Palmerston's Cabinet. Lewis was reviewing several important books on America, including the influential Letters from the Slave States, London, 1857, by James Stirling, a Scottish Radical, who had lived and travelled for some time in the Southern states and had written a series of accounts strongly condemning slavery. (1)

Lewis rated America as one of the four major world powers (along with Britain, France and Germany) and declared "Anything which shakes the United States to its center and which/

-
- (1) The other works were: F.L. Olmsted, Travels in the Slave States, London and N.Y. 1857 and 1860; Olmsted was an American Unionist who argued that slavery was, together with the one-crop economy, both uneconomical and out of date, and responsible for the cultural stagnation of the South. Olmsted's work has recently been republished as The Cotton Kingdom, ed. Arthur Schlesinger, N.Y. 1953. C.L. Vallandigham, The Great American Revolution of 1861, (reprint of a speech in Congress) Washington, 1861; John Calhoun, A Disquisition on Government and a Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States, ed. R.K. Cralle, N.Y., 1855.

which threatens to change its internal policy and its relations to foreign governments, is an event of first rate importance". He held that slavery was the basic cause of secession and that all other theories were "delusive", and praised the sincerity of the Abolitionists. Cruelty was indispensable to slavery, Lewis argued, describing the disruption of family life, the pursuit of fugitives by bloodhounds, and other evils connected with the system. However, the Home Secretary believed that the Southern secession was a painless and peaceful solution to the sectional strife in America and that any attempt to regain the South and perpetuate the Union was futile. Lewis declared that the North and South would have much to contribute to the world as independent states, with the Confederacy standing for free trade and the United States for Abolition and progress. He added that the Americans would have to pay more respect to international law henceforth, because they would be weaker.⁽¹⁾

When the news of the fall of Fort Sumter reached Scotland, the Courant warned that British commerce would be affected and predicted that there would be a few battles before/

(1) Edin. Rev., CXIII, 555-87. (April, 1861).

before peace was restored. From the outbreak of war in America, the Courant drew a stern lesson for its readers, which it was to reiterate constantly in the ensuing months: constitutional government was not respected in America because that country was "debauched by mob ascendancy", and had only been held together so far by the traditions which it had acquired while part of the British Empire. "The purely American part of their institutions (1) is precisely that which has come to grief." Lincoln was assessed by the Courant as something of a nonentity, floating along helplessly on the tide of events and lacking the qualities of mind and will necessary to cope with the crisis. "He seems to have been only driven into the step which led to the loss of Fort Sumter by the extreme Republican Party. His natural tendency was to stand still and let things arrange themselves, - a policy not suited to the serious difficulty as that before him." In speculating on the course of the war, the Courant opined that the Union, with the large economic and human resources under its control, would win in a prolonged contest, whereas the Secessionists would have to strike for a quick victory, time/

(1) Courant, 27 April, 1861.

time being on the side of the Union. However, the Courant believed that the American economy was too unstable for a long war, and that the people would not support a prolonged war effort.⁽¹⁾

During the following weeks the Courant reiterated its conviction that the Rebels would have to strike quickly before the Unionist forces gathered strength. It continued to blame the "old evil democracy" for the intensity of feeling on both sides in America, which was due to the fact that "the passions of the populace take the lead whenever a crisis comes".⁽²⁾ Earl Russell's action in sending military and naval reinforcements to Canada was commended in view of the chauvinist outbursts called forth in America by the war.⁽³⁾ In this connection the Courant was concerned to issue counterblasts against the New York Herald,⁽⁴⁾ the influence of which paper was to build bulk large throughout the war. The Herald, one of the first experiments in yellow journalism, was founded by a Scotsman, James/

(1) Courant, 27 April, 1861.

(2) Ibid, 4 May.

(3) loc.cit.; Ibid, 4 June.

(4) The N.Y. Herald argued in favour of war with Britain and for the annexation of Canada. Bennett in this instance was probably acting in the interests of the pro-Confederate elements in New York which viewed a clash with Britain as a means of establishing Confederate independence.

James Bennett, who was probably the first journalist to see the possibilities of exploiting the anti-Negro, anti-Protestant and anti-British prejudices of the Irish Lumpenproletariat in New York. By means of an utter mendacity and appeals to primitive emotion, Bennett's paper became something of a power in America, and was often referred to in the Scottish press as a prime example of the evils of democracy. Throughout the Civil War, it was by far the most quoted American paper in the Scottish press, where it was often represented as expressing the official American view, and where its unpleasant outpourings served as the starting point for many anti-American leading articles. The vicious circle set up in this manner is an interesting example of how the press at this time was developing as a major irritant in international relations.

One interesting and amusing development in this early period of the war was the attempt on the part of the Courant to build Lincoln up as a Tory hero - once it became clear that he was a far more resolute personality than the Courant at first had imagined. "His (Lincoln's) constitutional position is, we repeat, impregnable," declared the Courant. "He is de jure President of the United States as elected by law, and may use men, ships, and money for the putting down of the Secession . . . But unluckily, Americans of all states and/

and parties have talked so much abstract revolutionism on every occasion for years back, that it is almost a farce to preach Law and Order among them."⁽¹⁾ A few days later, after affirming that the reconquest of the South was impossible, the paper asserted that the attempt to preserve the Union was a true Conservative policy, and that Lincoln was, at least in this matter, actually a Conservative. Later it declared that the Americans who had welcomed Kossuth a few years previously were now acting on the same principles as the Hapsburgs. "There is a fine Conservative education for the Northern youth in the claim of superiority made by the Washington Cabinet, a claim which can only be defended on grounds of high constitutional rights and established authority." It praised Lincoln's firmness in contrast to the "maundering indecision of his earlier policy."⁽²⁾ On 1 June, the Courant presented an analysis of the American situation based explicitly on The Federal Papers, which, the Tory organ claimed, gave the true interpretation of the American Constitution, and which made it clear that the Secession and the States Rights Theory were unconstitutional. The Courant reminisced with admiration on/

(1) Courant, 1 May, 1861.

(2) Ibid, 28 May.

on George Washington's swift action against rebellious manifestations during his period as President, and affirmed that he would act in a similar manner in the present crisis. The Federalist, according to the article, affirmed the right of the central government to suppress any secession or revolution. The Courant expressed great praise for the political philosophy contained in the Federalist Papers and quoted at length from them. ⁽¹⁾

The Caledonian Mercury followed the Civil War closely from the beginning. Its analyses of the various stages of the war were amazingly accurate, in contrast to the erroneous approach of most other Scottish papers. The Mercury showed an accurate appreciation of Lincoln's stature, as well as of the ultimate direction of his policy from the start. In reporting Lincoln's decision to defend Fort Sumter, the Mercury declared: "President Lincoln seems suddenly to have woken up from his lethargy, to have cast aside all reluctant vacillation and timorousness and to have resolutely committed himself to a firm and aggressive scheme of action." ⁽²⁾ After the fall of Fort Sumter, the paper praised the skilful handling of the episode/

(1) Courant, 1 June, 1861.

(2) Cal. Mer., 22 April.

episode, which had exposed the aggressive intentions of the Confederates. "While the President has therefore shown his forbearance and thus satisfied the peace party - while he has refused to abandon of his own accord a Federal fortress to the satisfaction of the majority of the Republicans, he has drawn the South into such a flagrant act of wrong-doing as shall sufficiently unite the whole Northern states in a common policy. Congress must now declare distinctly for war or peace, and with the South shouting their bravadoes over the successful attack on Fort Sumter, we may rest assured that the decision will be for war."⁽¹⁾

Two days later, the Mercury declared: "President Lincoln has taken up his ground with an air of almost immovable resoluteness. It is now seen that, though he has waited for some time since his inauguration to office before taking action, he has never wavered in his idea of duty, or in his purpose of carrying it out. The pause was not one of uncertainty, or of fear, or of overmastering compunction, but of earnest, though deliberate, compunction. He delayed so long only that he might act more effectively./

(1) Ibid, 27 April.

effectively. His answer to the Virginian State Commissioners is his inaugural address repeated over again with greater emphasis. It is obvious that he possesses a distinct policy and will not shrink back from pursuing it. On the other side there is equal determination, with perhaps more than equal courage, eagerness,⁽¹⁾ and vindictiveness. The prospect is dreadful."

The Mercury condemned the Rebellion wholeheartedly from the beginning. On 30 April it observed that John Brown had been vindicated by the course of events, and that the Federal Government had now been forced to adopt his policy.⁽²⁾

In contrast to most other papers, the Mercury mapped very accurately the anti-slavery tendencies of the Republican administration. It pointed out the rebellion of the slaveholders had intensified anti-slavery feeling in the still Northern states, and held that, although Lincoln and Seward still publicly went no further than the Chicago platform, in reality they were by now far more advanced in their thinking on the question. "Just in/

(1) Cal. Mer., 29 April.

(2) Ibid, 30 April.

in proportion as the conduct of the slave states has caused surprise, panic, and embarrassment, it has also, by a natural revulsion, thrown back the statesmen of the Republican Party on their principles, caused them to rely on their own natural allies, and made them more independent than any such government has ever been in the history of the Union."⁽¹⁾ In discussing the military strength of the opposite parties, the Mercury concluded: "The North is undoubtedly stronger in men and money, but the South is not an enemy to be despised."⁽²⁾ The Mercury also urged that the great interest shown in the American war showed the need for an Atlantic cable, and asserted that the Government should spend money on this project rather than armaments.⁽³⁾

The Mercury stressed the importance of the intense Unionist feeling that had arisen in the Northern states following the attack on Fort Sumter. "The cannons of Fort Sumter have welded the whole body of Northern citizens into one compact mass." The Radical organ disagreed with the Times' assertion that, now that war was imminent, the two parties would compromise rather than fight, and predicted a long, hard war.⁽⁴⁾ Any hope of a compromise had vanished and/

(1) Ibid, 30 April.
 (2) Cal. Mer., 30 April, 1861.
 (3) Ibid, 10 May.
 (4) Ibid, 17 May.

(1)

and "Both parties in this quarrel are terribly in earnest!"
 The Mercury declared that the new unanimity in the Northern
 states had strengthened the government's hand, and de-
 nounced the Confederate leaders, predicting that the
 Governor of Virginia who hanged Brown for treason might
 shortly be hanged for the same offence. (2)

The outbreak of the Rebellion was followed by a
 British proclamation of neutrality and recognition of the
 belligerent rights of the Confederacy, and also by the
 despatch of commissioners to Europe to seek diplomatic
 recognition for the Richmond Government. The proclama-
 tion of neutrality was universally supported in Scotland,
 by Conservatives as well as Liberals. The Courant de-
 clared: "We are decidedly in favour of impartiality between
 the contending states, but it would undoubtedly be prema-
 ture to recognise the Confederacy yet . . . The American
 Union, the American Constitution, is the only power we can
 officially know, till it is dissolved by some agreement as
 general and as comprehensive as that by which it was
 created. Till he (Lincoln) and his enemies have settled
 between/

(1) Ibid, 21 May.

(2) Ibid, 24 May.

between them whether this is to be the American Constitution or not, it is our business to stand by the only Constitution we know. Any other policy would be a policy of revolution and injustice."⁽¹⁾ In the following month it repeated that Britain must hold to a policy of strict neutrality, and pointing (prophetically) to the vagueness of the Foreign Enlistment Act, demanded that, if necessary, a special Act of Parliament should be passed to prevent privateers from leaving British ports. It went so far as to express sympathy with the American indignation at Britain's recognition of Confederate belligerency, but averred that no other course was possible.⁽²⁾

The Mercury deplored the abusive language which the recognition of Confederacy belligerency inspired in some quarters in America, and averred that this reaction was due to a "gross misunderstanding" of British policy, particularly in the matter of Confederate privateers. "To refuse to recognise the belligerency of the South would be equivalent to a declaration of war." (2)

In America, Garrison as well as most of the other Abolitionists supported the Union cause from the outset. However, /

(1) Courant, 27 April.

(2) Ibid, 13 May.

However, in England and Scotland there was considerable uncertainty during the opening months of the war. George Thompson, together with a few of his close followers, supported Lincoln and the Unionists from the start. However, most of the Abolitionists of whatever shade were anti-Confederate rather than pro-Unionist during 1861. Dr. Cheever and his supporters actually dissociated themselves from the Unionists and expressed hostility towards Lincoln's administration which they regarded as being pro-slavery,⁽¹⁾ and many feared at first that Confederate sympathisers in Westminster might attempt to recognise the Confederacy quickly before they could mobilise public opposition to the move.

When notice was given in the Commons of a motion to recognise the Confederacy, Dr. Cheever opposed the measure in a letter which the Edinburgh Ladies Emancipation Society caused to be published in the Caledonian Mercury. Cheever declared that the recognition of the Confederacy "would be a dreadful triumph of the slave power and a measure fatal to the moral influence of Great Britain against slavery." He warned that it would in effect give public sanction to the/

(1) Jordan & Pratt, op.cit., 127-30: Abel and Klingberg, "The Tappan Papers," Journal of Negro History, XII, (1926), 162.

to the reopening of the slave trade, which was one of the chief objects of the Confederacy. Cheever called for action by the Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society, and appealed for a meeting as soon as possible to counter the Confederate efforts for recognition. Shortly thereafter, Dr. Cheever spoke against recognition at the tenth annual meeting of the Glasgow New Association for the Abolition of Slavery, held in the John St. Wesleyan Church. He urged that Britain should have no relations with the Confederacy, which he characterised as a "community of pirates and rebels". The meeting voted to memorialise the Government on these lines.⁽¹⁾

A few days later, the Glasgow Emancipation Society sent a memorial to Palmerston opposing recognition of what it described as "the new slavetrading Confederacy of the Southern States".⁽²⁾

The outbreak of the war in America thus did not produce further partisan conflict between the rival Abolitionist factions in Scotland, but on the contrary, brought them together on a common platform of opposition to recognition of the Confederacy. This furthered the policy of collaboration which had been started with the campaign on behalf of Dr Cheever.

(1) Glas. Herald. 23 April. At this meeting, David Smith was in the chair, and on the platform with Dr. Cheever were/ see next page.

The movement in behalf of Dr. Cheever was now given a strongly anti-Confederate course. A large rally of the pro-Cheever movement on May 10th at the Nicholson St. Church in Edinburgh, brought together the leaders of the two Abolitionist factions as well as leading clergymen of the Free Churches. Dr. Guthrie, who acted as chairman, expressed strong hostility towards both slavery and the Confederacy, although he had little sympathy for the Union. He declared that slavery was the basic cause of the disruption, and blamed the North as well as the South for having condoned the evil. Dr. Guthrie also attacked British merchants and manufacturers for failing to develop sources of free cotton. He expressed the hope that civil war would induce the American people to liberate the slaves. Dr. Cheever spoke strongly against the Confederate plea for recognition by and a commercial treaty with Britain. He maintained that the Confederacy could not survive without recognition and aid from Britain, and warned/

cont. f.n.1 previous page:- were the Reverend MacCallum and Blyth, and Messrs. W.P. Paton, J. Smith, and J.H. Young. The reports of the secretary and treasurer showed the "continued prosperity" of the Association. Their bazaar had brought in £214, and when subscriptions were added to this, the total income amounted to £280, of which £40 remained.

F.N.2, previous page:- G.E.S. Minute Books, 29 April, 1861. The official acknowledgement which the Society received several days later, referred to the Richmond Gvt. as "the Confederate Southern American States". Ibid, 4, May.

warned that the Anglo-Confederate treaty proposed by the Confederate Commissioners in London would represent the greatest victory ever for slavery. The minister went on to urge the women present to take an active stand on the recognition issue, in view of the degradation which slavery entailed for the rights of women. Speaking for the Emancipation Society, Mr. Duncan, W.S., stated that recognition "was not for a moment to be thought of," particularly in view of Britain's traditional opposition to the slave trade. He urged that resolutions and a petition be sent to the Government to combat the efforts of the Rebel Commissioners and declared that the sooner the people expressed their opinion on the subject, the better.

Thomas Knox, a prominent Radical, declared: "It was our privilege and duty as a nation to do our work peacefully and promptly at this great crisis: and who could tell but by creating a proper public spirit throughout the country that that meeting might be the means of inaugurating a whole series of public meetings which would give out some certain sound as to what they wished (the Government) to do in the matter." He expressed the hope that if/

if they could not end slavery immediately, they might at least cripple it so that it could not survive for long. Resolutions were then passed denouncing the Secessionists and opposing recognition. A memorial to the same effect was sent to the Government.

At the same time the result was announced of the collection for Dr. Cheever in Edinburgh, which had begun the previous October. The Ladies' Emancipation Society had raised £165, the Ladies' New Abolitionist Society had contributed £78, 18s, and £242/12/1d, had been received from church collections and private contributions, - making the total £481/10/1d. When it was announced that it would be desirable to raise the fund to £500, Dr. Guthrie promised Eliza Wigham that he would raise the remainder. ⁽¹⁾

A few days later, Dr. Cheever spoke at the anti-slavery and anti-recognition meeting in Dalkeith. He repeated his arguments against recognition of the Confederacy, the distinctive feature of which, he declared, was slavery. He urged that the people had the power to break slavery by inducing the Government to withhold recognition. The following resolution was passed unanimously/

(1) Scotsman, 10 May, 1861.

unanimously and sent to Lord Russell:

"That it is the sense of this meeting that the British Government should not enter into any recognition of the Southern American Confederacy constituted as it is on the avowed principle of upholding domestic slavery: or only on the ground that from that date of the treaty every child of African descent within the limit of said Confederacy shall be free-born".⁽¹⁾

Returning to Edinburgh, Dr. Cheever was invited to address the U.P. Synod, which received him with much applause and enthusiasm. He acknowledged the sympathy and aid received from the United Presbyterians, who, he pointed out, were also distinguished in America for their support of the freedom of the Church and the rights of the oppressed, - both of which causes, he declared, were bound up together. He emphasised the crucial nature of the events in America and declared that recognition of the Confederacy would be a serious blow to the liberty of the slaves. He described letters from his church appealing for sympathy for the Unionists and for no aid to be given to the Confederacy. Dr Cheever then urged all United Presbyterians to work to stir up anti-slavery feeling and to prevent recognition of the Confederacy, the chief purpose of which was to perpetuate/

(1) Ibid, 18 May.

perpetuate slavery. He concluded by warning of the bad effect which Confederate reopening of the slave trade would have upon missionary work. ⁽¹⁾ A few days later, at the Free Church General Assembly, Dr. Wood of Dumfries moved a resolution calling for prayers for peace and Abolition in America. It was seconded by Dr. Buchanan and carried unanimously. ⁽²⁾

At the same time the outbreak of the Rebellion stimulated a further series of attacks against Dr. Cheever by his enemies in America. The controversy continued for some time in the Scottish press, as the local Abolitionists rallied to Cheever's defence. The charges were simply a rehash of old accusations from the pro-slavery press in America and were easily disposed of. ⁽³⁾ Dr. Cheever finally left Scotland at the end of June, ⁽⁴⁾ after having played an important part in rallying Scottish opinion against the Confederacy.

Although the weight of the Abolitionist movement was thus effectively mobilised against recognition, most of the Scottish/

(1) Ibid, 22 May.
 (2) Ibid, 5 June.
 (3) e.g. Cal.Mer., 6 June, 1 July, 6 July.
 (4) See letter of Wm. Duncan, Scotsman, 1 July.

Scottish anti slavery people continued for some time to be very distrustful of the intentions of the Lincoln Government toward the slavery question. Lord Brougham did not believe that the slavery question should be raised at all while the Civil War continued, and on this ground broke a promise to preside at an anti-slavery meeting in London.⁽¹⁾ The attitude taken up by Garrison at the outbreak of the war was regarded dubiously, even by most of his closest supporters. . . In answer to a request by Dr. Guthrie, Garrison wrote an article in the Liberator explaining the war aims of the Unionists and his belief in the ultimately anti-slavery trend in the Northern States.⁽²⁾

Eliza Wigham expressed her anxiety to Samuel May Jr. in the following words: "Our greatest anxiety is that you standard bearers should not be led aside by the Northern enthusiasm to let your testimony droop in the slightest. 'No compromise with slaveholding' must still be your watchword, for you will yet have years perhaps of watching and working, for as yet there is no right-thinking antislavery feeling in the North as a mass. I think dear Garrison's prophetic spirit has led him to believe that what he sees will/"

(1) Scotsman, 11 June, 1861.

(2) Liberator, XXXI, 86 et seq.

will come out of the present excitement has already come, and he attributes more virtue and principle to the rising in the North than it merits." (1)

Some of the apologists for slavery were encouraged by the apparently successful rising of the slaveholders in America, to challenge the prevailing anti-slavery feeling in Scotland. For example, a pro-slavery letter, signed "J.S.H." touched off a heated correspondence on the subject in the Scotsman. "J.S.H." argued that the negroes were an inferior race, that the whites in the West Indies had suffered from "social intercourse" with the emancipated negroes in that region, and that wherever negroes were emancipated from slavery, there was a strong chance that they might assume political control over the (supposedly superior) whites. (2)

He was answered by a Scottish emigrant to Canada who had lived for many years in the West Indies. The latter writer asserted that the negroes were the equals of the whites, and had the same capabilities if given the necessary education. He also denounced the cruelties involved in the system of slavery. (3) A similar anti-slavery letter followed, signed "C", who was probably the Reverend Chambers, a Scottish minister who had visited America in 1853/

(1) E. Wigham-Saml. May Jr., 12 July.

(2) Scotsman, 18 July, 1861.

1853, and had been converted to Abolitionism by his horror at the conditions of the negroes under slavery. He asked J.C.H. why, if the tasks of the slaves were so easy (as the latter had asserted) they had to be coerced into doing them. He described the forcible separation of families and other cruelties occurring under slavery, which, he declared, were contrary to Christian and humanist principles. He agreed that the Northern states were at fault for discriminating against negroes, but insisted that the answer to that problem was racial equality and equal opportunities for all. He pointed to the increase of exports from the West Indies, and to the gradual improvement of the condition of the negroes there as illustrating the advantages of emancipation. He declared that he personally had not suffered from social intercourse with negroes and repudiated the idea that the negroes might establish political supremacy over the whites. ⁽¹⁾

The Abolitionist arguments were strengthened about this time by the publication of The Underground Railway from Slavery to Freedom. ⁽²⁾ This popular anti-slavery work was written by the Reverend W. Mitchell, a former overseer of slaves who had joined the Underground Railway and was now a minister in Toronto. At the same time,

(1) Ibid, 24 August.

(2) London, 1861: for a contemporary critical account of the work see Tait's Review, XXVIII, 164, et seq.

time, opinion within the Church in Scotland continued to run strongly against slavery. The Lamp of Love, (a popular Protestant youth magazine printed in Glasgow) for example, was giving considerable space to anti-slavery and anti-racialist articles and stories, not only during this period, but throughout the war. For instance, a feature article on missionary work in South Africa repudiated as heresy the idea that Hottentots had no souls, and also attacked the maltreatment of natives by the Boers. (1) The September issue carried a biographical article on the Reverend Samuel Crowther, which gave a vivid picture of the sufferings of the slaves. (2) In the same issue, a short story entitled "What Aileth Thee, Sister?" stressed the duty of Christians to recognise negroes as brothers. (3)

The fact that the Unionists pursued a high tariff policy in contrast to the free trade principle professed by the Rebels, served as a useful argument for sympathisers of the latter. This line was stressed particularly by Tait's Review, a publication of advanced liberal views which/

-
- (1) Lamp of Love, June, 1861, 204-9, 232-9. It was edited by the Reverend Bateman. (Copies in the Brit. Museum).
 (2) Ibid, September, 1861, 204-9, 232-9. The Reverend Crowther was an ex-slave who became a Christian missionary.
 (3) Ibid, 69-70.

which nevertheless enthusiastically espoused the cause of Secession. (1) Tait's attacked the Republicans as hypocrites on the slavery question and as having design on Canada which Britain must be prepared to resist. The Rebellion on the other hand was pictured as a crusade for free trade. "This battle is not the conflict between personal slavery and personal freedom," declares Tait's ". . . It will prove a struggle between free trade and prohibition - the exclusiveness of selfishness or free intercourse. Under the guise of suppressing treason, Mr. Seward enforces tribute." On these grounds the Abolitionists were warned not to believe that the Unionists were fighting for emancipation. "It is not a war for or against slavery. It is a war against independence, against trade - for centralisation, pride and vanity." Tait's also opposed the idea that a Unionist victory would lead to emancipation and maintained that a dissolution of the Union offered the best prospect for Abolition. "A separation of the North from the South would compel the South to mitigate the laws relating/

(1) Tait's was edited by George Troup, an early Scottish exponent of Liberal Imperialism. See G.E. Troup, Life of George Troup, Journalist, Edinburgh, 1881; W.H. Marwick, "George Troup", Scottish Educational Journal, XVII, (1934), 322-23.

relating to slavery, and gradually to provide means for the conversion of the negroes into a free peasantry, under doubtless many constitutional restrictions."⁽¹⁾ At the same time, Lincoln was dismissed as a nonentity: "Why he was the representative of the Republican Party, is not easily told," remarked the Review in the course of discussing his plebeian background.⁽²⁾

In September, Tait's returned to the attack in shriller tones, arguing that the North was attempting to exploit the South by means of a protectionist policy, and attempted to demonstrate that protection was the moral equivalent of slavery. The article maintained that/

(1) Tait's Review, XXVIII, 81-94, (July, 1861).

(2) Ibid, 83-4. In the same issue there appeared a long "letter addressed to the Right Honorable Lord John Russell, by one of his constituents who did not vote for him." The letter attacked Russell for his statement in the Commons (30 May, 1861) to the effect that Britain was responsible for introducing slavery into America. The writer introduced a long and copious argument against this idea, and then attacked the Northern hypocrisy involved in profiting from slavery, and of offering the South an imperialist policy in Mexico as well as a guarantee of slavery and the Caribbean, if it would come back into the Union. Ibid, 133-8.

that protection was slavery imposed on the buyers by the sellers. "...The Federals, or Northern Party are not Abolitionists." The article argued that protection was morally equivalent to slavery "The principle in both cases is the same - being the appropriation by craft or strength of other persons' labour, in part or in whole for the benefit of the crafty or the strong."⁽¹⁾

The article then referred to the outpourings of the New York Herald, as representing the chauvinist spirit in the Northern states. The writer went on to point out that if Secession were established, "The rapid race of prosperity exhibited in the North for many years past could not have been continued in future years."⁽²⁾

The arguments of Tait's reflect the conflict between British and American industrialists competing for the American market and for control over the raw materials of the South. This conflict was particularly sharpened by the Morrill Tariff, which threatened to exclude British industrialists from what was now their leading market. The trend of thought in these articles is an interesting/

(1) Ibid, 166.

(2) Ibid, 160.

(1)

interesting anticipation of Liberal Imperialism.

The article referred to in the September issue of Tait's also introduced the interesting question of what the relations were between pro-Unionist sentiment in Britain and investments in America. "It is a war for the Morrill Tariff," declared Tait's, "and why is Manchester silent, and the Manchester School succumbing under new duties of a magnitude and strength, for the prohibition of intercourse between nations greater than any aristocracy ever proposed? For the same reason that induced Dr. Caird, one of our Scotch members, in a pamphlet meant to save the owners of Illinois stock, to disparage Canada, and puff the sickly prairies that the Illinois Railway Co. have to sell. The fortunes and hopes of the leaders of the School are pledged neck deep in these worthless securities of Western America, and so the Morrill Tariff, the greatest recent outrage on civilisation, is seldom mentioned by that class of politician for it has been done by their friends and partners." (2)

Investments/

(1) e.g., T.E. Taylor, employed in a Liverpool trading firm at outbreak of Rebellion, declared: "Nowhere out of America was the Secession of the South more keenly watched than in Liverpool offices and the Exchange of that city, which American trade had begotten and nursed." (Taylor. op.cit., 2).

(2) Tait's Review, XXVIII, 165.

Investments in American mines, real estate, railways, and State and Federal bonds, appear to have been particularly popular in Scotland during this period,⁽¹⁾ and these investments sometimes drew down the wrath of empire-minded Tories and Liberals, who demanded to know why America was considered a safer risk than "Britain under Queen Victoria."⁽²⁾ The Mr. Caird mentioned above was Liberal M.P. for Stirling, and a strong opponent of intervention in favour of the Confederates.⁽³⁾ The Ellis family of Glenquich, Aberdeen shire, two members of which were in Parliament at this period,⁽⁴⁾ had large investments in American real estate. The Wedderburn family (prominent in landholding, business, and Indian administration) had the bulk of its fortune invested in American State bonds, (Sir David Wedderburn, the head of the family at this period, was a strong Americanophile and was elected Liberal M.P. for South Ayrshire in 1868).⁽⁵⁾ These investments in America meant that many/

(1) e.g. N.B.D.M. 3 Jan., 1860.

(2) W.H. Marwick, Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland, 1936, p. 82.

(3) See Scotsman, 29 Jan., 1862, 13 Dec., 1862, 9 Feb., 63, 27 Jan., 1864, 10 Nov., 1864. He made a tour of America in 1862 to study the effects of the war on the American economy and institutions.

(4) See Ellice Family Papers, MSS section, Nat. Li. of Scotld

(5) E.H. Perceval, Sir David Wedderburn, London, 1884, pp. 31-2.

many prominent Scots had a vested interest in preserving peace between Britain and America. Duncan MacLaren, as we have pointed out above, and the Radical leaders associated with him, were strongly interested in America and in 1861, MacLaren published a statistical paper pointing out the superiority of the American economy. (1)

On the English side, Cobden, a leading American sympathiser, was one of the chief foreign investors in America, and, among other securities, possessed a number of shares in the Illinois Central Railway. (2) Due to his opposition to the Morrill Tariff, however, Cobden was not such an unqualified supporter of the Union cause as Bright and MacLaren, although he strongly opposed intervention on behalf of the Confederacy.

A related theme, which was harped upon by Tait's Magazine, and later taken up by Blackwood's and other anti-Unionist papers and magazines, was the perilous financial condition of America. Emphasis was laid upon the tremendous American war expenditure and the prospect of a crippling debt. (3) The reiterated insistence of pro-Confederate periodicals on the financial instability of the United States was quite possibly intended/

-
- (1) J.H. MacVie, Life of Duncan MacLaren, 2 vols., London 1888, I, 164-5.
 (2) M.P. Claussen, Peace Factors in Anglo-American Relations, 1861-5, Mississippi Valley Historical Review XXVI, (1939-40), 518.
 (3) Tait's, loc.cit., 180-5.

intended to undermine American credit abroad, and to disparage investors in American securities. At any rate, Walt's, in the article referred to, followed its gloomy analysis of American finances with a proposal for the boycott of American securities by foreign capitalists in order to make the Unionists sue for peace. "If a resolution were adopted on our stock exchanges not to deal with any American securities during the war, peace would be concluded. . . Poverty would secure peace, for European capitalists can enforce peace in America by refusing to deal in States securities during the war."⁽¹⁾

The repulse suffered by the Union forces at the First Battle of Bull Run, (21 July), gave great encouragement to the Confederate sympathisers in Scotland, who were further impressed by Russell's famous eye-witness account of the battle, which included a vivid account of the disorderly retreat of several Union regiments.⁽²⁾ The battle was rated as an important Confederate victory by the Courant, which held, however, that it meant that the war would last longer than if the Unionists had won the first battle, and therefore issued a warning in regard to the/

(1) Ibid. 185. See also Claassen, op.cit., loc.cit., pp. 551-22: A.E. Taylor, Walker's Mission to London, 1863-4, Journal of Economic and Business History, (Cambridge, Massachusetts), III, 296-320 (Feb. 1933): P.S. Foner, Business and Slavery, Bridgeport, Connecticut, 1941.

(2) Times, 10 Aug. 1861.

the cotton supply. "Our merchants and manufacturers had better bestir themselves; and if Manchester is such an abode of wisdom as we are sometimes asked to believe, it can surely spare a little of it for so dire a crisis as seems impending."⁽¹⁾ Later, the Courant declared that the battle contained "matter for profitable reflection" and declared that Russell's account showed it to have been "a blunder and a disgrace for the Unionists," whose conduct was described as "peculiarly base and ludicrous."⁽²⁾ The Courant was also encouraged by the battle to call for a decisive settlement of the war in the near future and to hint at the desirability of intervention.

"For the separation which we believe to be inevitable may as well be speedy, and the parting be accompanied with as little bloodshed as possible. Hitherto, Europe has kept well out of the business and in spite of ludicrous threats, Great Britain has watched the course of Northern Government with pity, if not with sympathy. - - The British Government may have to reconsider its relation to the belligerents. We can hardly allow anything in the nature of a nominal blockade to interfere with our commerce. And/

(1) Courant, 5 August, 1861.

(2) Ibid, 8 August.

And if France is to treat directly with the Confederate Government as an independent power, she will obviously gain advantages from it greater than we can hope for if our recognition is delayed." ⁽¹⁾

The Scottish Tories harboured serious fears that Louis Napoleon might establish some form of paramountcy over the Southern states, and these fears were stimulated by a rumour that the French ruler was planning to set himself up as emperor of the Confederacy. ⁽²⁾ The Courant thought it would be desirable to make a British prince king of the Confederacy, "But to choose the descendant of a Corsican advocate - a Frenchman, fat and forty, more than suspected of want of courage, and having no community of lineage, no sympathies with the Anglo-Saxon race - would be equally foolish and unnatural." The editorial concluded that, although this report might be untrue, it was certain that Louis Napoleon wished to become the arbiter of the American struggle and to use his position to injure British interests. ⁽³⁾

The Mercury explained the Rebel victory as resulting from/

(1) Ibid, 8 August.

(2) Ibid, 13 August.

(3) Ibid, 28 August.

from the fact that the first flush of enthusiasm among the Unionists had waned, and that also American youths were averse to military discipline. At the same time, the Mercury, together with other leading Scottish papers, devoted considerable attention to the activities of the New York 79th, or "Highland" regiment, the members of which wore tartan trews and served at Bull Run with the Federal army. (1) The regiment mutinied after Bull Run, and (2) became the object of Considerable amusement in Scotland.

Tait's devoted considerable space to what it termed the "panic" of the Federals at Bull Run and declared: (3) "Their blunders and inefficiencies reproach our race." The same article reviled "the loafers and rowdies of these Northern cities, consisting greatly of our European scum, whose bragging, bullying methods melted into shameful flight before the vision of black horsemen on that July Sabbath which the invaders of Virginia selected for 'the day of their great victory.'" (4)

Bull Run brought the American conflict into closer relation/

(1) William Todd, The 79th Highlanders (New York Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion, Albany, N.Y., 1886.

(2) e.g., Tait's Ed. Maga. XXVII, 184 (Sept., 1861).

(3) Ibid, 165.

(4) Ibid.

relation with the question of democracy and Parliamentary reform, which had been revived in Scotland by the Radicals in the period immediately preceeding the outbreak of the war. Even before the outbreak of war, the Edinburgh Radicals had emphasised the importance of the fate of democracy in America in relation to the maintenance and extension of political liberty in their own country. When the Secession movement commenced for instance, the Mercury declared:

"To a great majority of political thinkers in this country it is a matter of profound interest that the great Republic - a part of the glorious system that has its roots in the English Commonwealth times - should be a success, not a failure. Respect for those founders of it that went forth from among us in the old days, shaking off the dust from their feet as against despotism and persecution, demands this degree of interest at our hands. Respect for the tendencies and aspirations of the existing times sanctions the like claim. To this end it is needful that the Union should endure and not fall to pieces through an explosion that may be averted: but it is needful also that it endure as a genuine Republic, not as a compound of despotism and slavery. . . and that instead of perpetual threats of political alienation and fratricidal contest, the influence of material interests should concur with the dictates/

dictates of reason and humanity in linking us together
in the bonds of reciprocal assistance." ⁽¹⁾

The demand for an extension of the franchise had been increasing in the immediate ante bellum period: as Dennison, the speaker of the Commons, remarked to Edward Ellice, Liberal M.P. for Fife, "Reform is the political revival of the moment." ⁽²⁾

The Reform revival in Scotland reached a temporary peak with a large labour rally in Edinburgh on 11 May, 1861, which demonstrated for the extension of the franchise to the workers. The meeting was presided over by a number of the leading Radicals of the capital, including the Lord Provost, (Charles Lawson), ex-Bailie Fyfe, John Gorrie (advocate), Thomas Ireland, J.H. Stott, and others. The speakers were strongly critical of Adam Black, publisher of the Edinburgh Review and one of the Liberal M.P.s for the city, who had been elected on a promise to extend the franchise, but had subsequently gone over to the Whigs and voted against reform. ⁽³⁾

The Courant expressed anxiety over the rally, which it saw as part of a wide-spread campaign on the part of the/

(2) Dennison-Ellice, 21 Jan., 1861, (Ellice Papers, Nat. Li of Scotland).

(1) Cal. Mer., 11 May, 1861.

(3) Courant, 13 May, 1861.

the Radicals and Free Churchmen to overthrow the British Constitution. The Courant's criticism of the Radicals was coupled with a denunciation of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, which had recently protested against the Government's policy of interfering with religious freedom in Scotland, as instanced in the Cardross case. The Courant went on to attack the Reform rally by relating it to the American crisis.

"The rabid Radicalism and coarse invective which marked the speeches of Messrs. Corrie and Iverach are likely to disgust every person of good taste and proper feeling. They ~~disgust~~-every reduce our Constitution to an unchecked democracy, and give full sway to the tyranny of the majority, whose evil influence is even now producing such bitter fruits in Mr. Bright's model Republic." The editorial went on to refer to the warnings of de Tocqueville and others concerning the dangers of American democracy, and defended Black against the "coarse personal attack by the Radical speakers."⁽¹⁾

In July, a bye-election took place at Selkirkshire, where the Tory candidate, Lord William Scott, was opposed by a Radical, William Napier. The fate of American democracy became an issue as the Courant campaigned vigorously for the defeat of Napier. "If he (Napier) can find/

find anyone goose enough to believe in his power of democratising the country - in the present state of public opinion and with Europe and America situated as they are - he of course will use him." The Courant pictured the election as a struggle between the county people and the urban manufacturers and workers, and warned industrialists not to back Radical candidates, who would make them "subordinate to the men whose wages they pay." The Tory organ then proceeded to attack the Free Church. "It is not the cause of gentlemen, for it is closely mixed up with a virulent spirit of democracy."⁽¹⁾ The Courant carried a number of strong editorials on the election, and in rebutting the Scoteman's support for Napier, asserted that Scott's chief qualification was that he was an aristocrat, - adding: "The truth is that the Scotsman is too good a Whig not to have considerable sympathy with our 'blood' view, all the same."⁽²⁾

The apparent disintegration of America and the retreat of the Federals at Bull Run appeared to the Scottish Tories as an unexpected confirmation of all the warnings which they had issued since the days of the First Reform Bill, /

(1) Ibid, 24 July.

(2) Ibid, 25 July.

Bill, and served as something of a compensation for the repeated defeats which they had suffered in Edinburgh and elsewhere over the past generation. Bull Run, in particular, was pictured as a defeat of everything for which the Radicals and Free Churchmen stood.

"Here is the value of America to us, especially in a crisis," the Courant asserted, "it shows us our own faults in exaggerated form. An American is only an Englishman or Scotchman under the influence of unbridled democracy. Take away the restraint or training and tradition - the influence of old and powerful monarchical institutions - and the mass of our population would be Americans - just as they would get sunburnt in a warm climate. ...The South owes its superiority hitherto in great measure to its well-educated, well-bred officers."⁽¹⁾

The fact that a number of liberal politicians and papers swung sharply to the right at the outbreak of the Civil War, was welcomed by the Tories, but also led to Tory fears that the Whigs might steal their thunder. The Courant was therefore at pains to establish the raison d'etre of the Tory Party. The rightward swing of the Whigs (Times, Scotsman, Palmerston etc.) was held to be insincere and based on expediency, in view of the fact that these/

(1) Courant, 8 August, 1861.

these same elements had, during the Crimean War, joined with the Radicals in the attack on the aristocrats. "People capable of fraternising with the weavers of Radical villages" warned the Courant, "to damage the influence of county families, may ridicule American institutions for the time, but are substantially helping to Americanise their own country in the long run. So we insist on the Conservative Party sticking together with its own definite objects."⁽¹⁾

When Thomas Hughes, author of Tom Brown's School Days, and vigorous propagandist for the Federal cause, criticised the misrepresentations of the war by the press, the Courant rebuked him for this and declared that it was the duty of the press to point out the evils of America because America was what Britain would become like under democracy. After describing the cowardice and mob rule, which, it claimed, prevailed in the democratically governed part of the United States, the editorial concluded by denying the claim of Hughes and of Harriet Beecher Stowe, that slavery was the chief cause of the war.⁽²⁾ The Courant devoted a number of articles during this period to arguing that slavery was not the cause of the war.⁽³⁾ "It is of course the bounden duty of every Radical to make out that slavery and slavery alone/

(1) Ibid, 13 August.
 (2) Courant, 24 Sept., 1861.
 (3) e.g., Ibid, 12 Sept., 1 Oct.

alone is answerable for the rupture: because if it is not, the responsibility must fall back on the nature of American institutions - in other words upon the inherent vices of democracy."⁽¹⁾

"Democracy without Jacobinism," averred the Courant, "is as vain as drunkenness without a headache would be. Nature has coupled the indulgences inseparably for the instruction of mankind. Liberalism 'of the coarser tinge' has had full swing in America, and is now shedding blood, pillaging, and destroying the personal freedom, (by a strange retribution\ of Democratic editors. ... Mr. Bright's tendency is to make similar things possible at home."⁽²⁾

The Courant's campaign against democracy was closely linked with its attacks on the Radical majority in the Edinburgh Town Council. On 25 October, for example, an editorial deplored the fact that the upper class had been pushed out of municipal government in Edinburgh. "No doubt the circumstances under which the Council contrived to forfeit its proper esteem among men of education were peculiar. It so fell out in Scotland that the Radical movement in politics was combined with a fanatical movement in Church affairs, and this latter gave a peculiar direction as well as a peculiar acrimony to our municipal affairs."

(1) Ibid, 7 Oct.

(2) Ibid, 16 Sept.

The stirrings of the labour movement, and in particular the agitation by the prominent Free Church social reformer, Dr. Begg, for better working class housing, also drew the ire of the Courant.⁽¹⁾ "When Dr. Begg," asserted the latter, "harrangues on the sorrows of the labourers, we know that it is a political stroke at the ⁽²⁾squires." At the end of the year, the condition against which Dr. Begg was preaching, resulted in a disaster on the High St., where a slum tenement collapsed, killing a number of people. The Courant was, however, unrepentant and denounced Dr. Begg and Dr. Guthrie for blaming the ruling classes for the disaster and for bad working-class housing in general.⁽³⁾

In commenting on J.S. Mill's "Representative Government", which was published at this time, the Courant claimed that it detected signs in the work that the Radical were retreating from their former advanced positions - the Courant made a great deal in particular of certain checks to universal suffrage which Mill suggested, such as plural voting and financial limits. According to the Courant, Mill's book, together with the enthusiastic review which it received in the Free Church North British Review, "affords/

(1) e.g. article of 11 Sept., 1861, denouncing strikes as "evils, folly, and stupidity".

(2) Ibid, 21 Sept. For another long attack on Dr. Begg's working-class housing campaign, see Ibid, 9 Oct. See T. Smith, Memoir of James Begg, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1888.

(3) Ibid, 3 Dec.

"affords another curious proof of the difficulties which Democracy presents to thinking minds. One likes to see a 'Philosophical Radical' exhausting his ingenuity in devising checks and restrictions on a movement which his own school has largely helped to promote. And when his labours tend to strengthen and consolidate Conservatism, we do not grudge him, as part of his reward, the little pleasure of a sneer or two at the Conservative Party.

...For our own part, we see no reason why the Government of this country should inevitably degenerate into a democracy. ...Even now our Government is sufficiently democratic: and were it made more so by entrusting the uneducated masses with the suffrage, a House of Commons elected by them would almost certainly be destitute of that habitual reverence for the constitutional rights of others and moderation in asserting its own, which have hitherto been its characteristics, and the want of which has been the principal cause of the disastrous and unnatural conflict on the other side of the Atlantic.."⁽¹⁾

Other Scottish Tory organs argued along similar lines. During this period of the war, Blackwood's published two strong articles on the American situation by one of its chief/

(1) Ibid, 31 Oct.

(2)

chief contributors, E.B. Hamley, an army officer. In the first of these articles, entitled The Disruption of the Union, Hamley repudiated the pleas for support from the American Unionists. He declared his belief that the Confederates were right and that the Secession was the best thing for America since it would damp down American aggressiveness. He argued further, undoubtedly for the benefit of investors in American securities, that the Secession would not have an adverse effect on American economy. He went on to hail the Rebellion as a great and justifiable defeat for democracy.

"In those American institutions and tendencies," wrote Hamley, "we saw what our own might be if the most dangerous elements of our Constitution should become dominant. We saw a policy which received its impulses always from below. We saw the wisdom and moderation of the nation tossed like weeds upon the popular surges." (2)

Hamley declared that this method of government had now been proved a failure, and averred that Secession would finish democracy in America and lead to the establishment of an aristocracy in that country. (3) Hamley assumed that disruption/

(1) Blackwood's Review, vol. 2, XC, July, pp. 125-34, ("The Disruption of the Union") and October, pp. 395-405, ("Democracy Teaching by Example"), 1861. All of Blackwood's articles are unsigned. their authorship can be ascertained from the Blackwood Papers, (Nat. Li. of Scotl)

(2) Blackwood's XC, 129.

(3) Ibid, 129-30.

disruption was inevitable and expressed the hope that America would let the Southern states go in peace.

Hamley's second article on the war, published in the October issue, under the title of Democracy Teaching by Example, was written in a more strident tone, encouraged by the result of the Battle of Bull Run, which he held up as the final proof of the failure of democracy. He rejoiced that the Republic was ending ludicrously so that future republicans would now be unable to form any romantic myths on the subject.

"If everyone is amused," declared Hamley, "when Ancient Pistol is made to eat his leek, swearing horribly as he chews it, why should we be grave when a whole nation of Ancient Pistols are enacting a screaming farce, and, moreover, a farce containing a moral for all mankind?" Hamley went on to pour scorn on "that rabble of Bobadils which they call their army. . . all in desperate career the wrong way, led by those immortal three months men of Pennsylvania: where we know not whether to pity most the officers who lead such men, or the men who are led by such officers, - all is farce of the very broadest stamp." He expressed satisfaction that there was nothing noble in what he regarded as the irreparable collapse of the Union, adding "And the venerable Lincoln, the respectable Seward, the raving editors, the gibbering mob, and the swift-footed warriors of Bull Run are no malicious tricks of fortune/

fortune played off on an unwary nation, but are all of them the legitimate offspring of the great Republic."⁽¹⁾

Hamley went on to describe how thinkers had speculated for centuries about democracy, but now it had been tried and failed, although everything (unlike the situation in France) was favourable to its growth. He then entered into a long analysis of the evils of the American Constitution, the worst of which, he decided, were democracy and a weak executive. He contrasted the evils resulting from these errors with the beneficial results of the constitutional status quo in Britain, which, he maintained, had the right amount of liberty without the evils of democracy.⁽²⁾

Hamley then came to deal with the Abolitionists, whom he pictured as crazy fanatics, thirsting for the blood of the planters. Wendell Phillips was characterised as "that mischievous monomaniac", although Mrs. Beecher Stowe was more charitably described as "a very clever woman" who had come to believe her own propaganda. Hamley predicted that the success of Secession would finish the Abolitionist movement and also teach humility to the rabble in the Northern states. He explained the fact that the American intellectuals as a group, were supporting the Unionist war effort, by saying that they were hoping

(1) Ibid, 395-6.

(2) Ibid, 397-402.

hoping thereby to set up an aristocratic government in the Northern states after democracy had finally collapsed, allowing the superior Americans to take their natural place at the head of the government. Hamley reconciled himself to the sufferings involved in the American war "in the hope that this contest may end in the extinction of mob rule." He summed up his argument by asserting that the evils of democracy were not accidental, as might be inferred by the case of France, but inherent, as shown by the result of the American experiment, made under the most favourable circumstances, which, he claimed, provided a lesson for "our own agitators in their clamour for reform."⁽¹⁾

The Whig press, led by the Scotsman, generally followed similar lines during this period, although they adopted a somewhat less strident and more subtle approach. However, from the beginning, this approach often met with protests from Union sympathisers. As early as May, 1861, for instance a correspondent, describing herself as the daughter of an American citizen, and signing herself "Stars without Stripes," wrote from Fife to counter the Scotsman's attacks on America. "I have no skilful words," she declared, "wherewith to plead the cause of my friends against practised writers like that of your leading articles, but I must protest . . ."

She/

(1) Ibid, 405.

She criticised the Scotsman's practice of reprinting editorials from the worst of the New York press, and either asserting or inferring that they were a true index of American sentiment. She declared that the people of the Northern states had been waiting silently for the day of action, and that now it had come, they must resist the threats of the slaveholders. She denied that the Unionists were "gleeful" over the war, as the Scotsman frequently asserted, but averred that they were not cowardly either. She compared the American conflict to the English Civil War, at the outbreak of which many people wished to avoid war, but in the end were forced to fight in defence of their basic political and religious principles. She suggested that their descendants should not "sneer at those brave men of the North who had volunteered . . . to defend their wives and daughters from the horrors of a Southern invasion." She concluded by appealing for sympathy for the thousands in the North who were preparing (1) to fight in a war which they did not wish for.

Another correspondent opposed the Scotsman's attacks on the Unionists, and pointed out that in all revolutions, the leaders did not at first see clearly the ultimate goal; /

(1) Scotsman, 22 May, 1861.

goal: and in this respect he compared the American war with the English Civil War and the French Revolution. He asserted that the Abolitionists were coming to the fore in America, as the Ironsides did in England, and that they would reconquer the South and abolish slavery, after which American democracy would no longer be tyrannical as it had been in the past. ⁽¹⁾

Another and more prominent voice which was early raised on behalf of the Unionists, was that of W.E. Baxter, a Radical M.P. and a member of the industrial dynasty of Dundee. ⁽²⁾

Speaking at Arbroath, Baxter expressed his "earnest hope" that the Government would neither interfere with the blockade nor recognise the Confederacy which he described as being based on treason and slavery. He criticised the bragadoccio of the Northern press, but declared that the Unionists were in the right in regard to the war, and warned against the attempt to develop a "chivalrous sympathy" for the "gentleman planter" of the Southern states. He also demanded to the "loud applause" of his audience, that new sources of cotton be opened in the Empire. ⁽³⁾ Baxter and the "Dundee Advertiser" represented the strong Radical group in Dundee which supported/

(1) Scotsman, 9 Nov., 1861.

(2) Baxter wrote a book on America several years before the war, (America and the Americans, London, 1855). He was strongly opposed to slavery, but also critical of the Abolitionists.

(3) Ibid, 15 Nov.

supported the United States throughout the war. It is interesting that Baxter made his stand as early as he did, for at the time he spoke, there was a serious depression in Dundee due to the war. America was by this time one of the chief markets for Dundee jute goods,⁽¹⁾ upon which the Morrill⁽²⁾ Tariff had imposed duties of between 15% and 20%.

After the conclusion of their successful campaign to prevent the immediate recognition of the Confederacy, and after the departure of Dr. Cheever, the Scottish Abolitionists went through a period of watching and waiting. Although firmly opposed to the establishment of slaveholding Confederacy, most of them were not ready as yet to follow Garrison in outright support of the Federals. The Emancipation Societies were somewhat bewildered by Garrison's apparent volte-face after years of preaching Secession as an anti-slavery weapon. Events in America were not working out according to Garrison's doctrine, which had envisaged Secession from the Union by the free states. The use of Garrisonian doctrine by such pro-Confederate liberal organs as Tait's, undoubtedly increased the confusion. On 7 October the Glasgow Emancipation Society met to discuss the sending of/

(1) Marwick, op.cit., 113-14.

(2) D.C. Carrie, Dundee and the American Civil War, Dundee, 1953, p.12.

of an address to the American Abolitionists. John Knox acted as chairman, and among others present were Andrew Paton, James Coupar, Reverend D. Johnstone, Reverend Dr. Graham, Robert Woodside, and William Smeal. After a discussion it was decided to postpone sending the address "owing to the friends of the Abolitionist cause in America having to some extent imbibed the popular spirit in favour of the Civil War now waging in that country," until it was seen how the U.S. Government would act in regard to Fremont's abolition proclamation. (1) (2)

-
- (1) Glasgow Emancipation Society Minute Books, 7 October, 1861. General Fremont had issued an abolition proclamation covering the zone under his command. It was subsequently revoked by the American Government.
- (2) See Edinburgh Review, CXIV, 556-8, (1861) for reviews of several of the controversial books on the war at that time.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC REPERCUSSIONS

The Cotton Famine, the depression of 1862, etc.

The impact of the Civil War on the Scottish economy caused, or contributed to the cause of, a number of developments, such as the cotton famine in the West of Scotland, and the depression of 1862. We have already dealt with the influence of the War on the shipbuilding industry, and we shall now examine briefly the situation in other fields. During the generation before the War Scotland had been developing closer economic ties with America; the cotton industry had for long been almost completely dependent on America for its raw material, while for a number of industries America had become the most important market. (1) Although cotton manufacturing had been for years the major industry in Scotland, it had begun to lose its pre-eminence before the outbreak of the Civil War - due partly to the depression of 1857, and partly to the parallel rise of heavy industry in the Clyde /

(1) e.g., D. Carrie, Dundee and the American Civil War, Dundee, 1953, passim; W. H. Marwick, Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland, London, 1936, 112-15. For instance half of the linen goods produced in Dunfermline were for the American market (Scotsman, 21 July 1862), and other Scottish towns were in a similar situation.

(1)
Clyde area. However, at the outbreak of the Rebellion, it was still playing a major part in the Scottish economy, with 163 factories, containing two million spindles and 30,000 power looms, and employing over 40,000 workers. (2)

The theoreticians of the King Cotton school of political economy in the Southern States of America founded their thinking on the basic fact that 85% of the cotton used in Europe came from the South. However, they had become so infatuated with their belief that "Cotton is King" that /

(1) H. Hamilton, The Industrial Revolution in Scotland, Oxford, 1932, 9, 149, 191; W. O. Henderson, "The Cotton Famine in Scotland", Scottish Historical Review, XXX (1951), 154-64.

(2) D. Bremner, The Industries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1869, 287; Henderson, (op.cit., 159, f.n.5) gives the following table (abridged from Bremner) illustrating the development of the industry between 1850 and 1861:

	<u>Factories</u>				<u>Spindles</u>		
	1850	1856	1861		1850	1856	1861
Lanarkshire	94	83	96	875,310	1,111,352	1,138,602	
Renfrewshire	51	46	44	508,982	556,423	408,742	
Elsewhere	23	23	23	296,855	373,354	368,054	
	<u>164</u>	<u>152</u>	<u>163</u>	<u>1,683,093</u>	<u>2,041,129</u>	<u>1,915,398</u>	

	<u>Power Looms</u>				<u>Operatives</u>		
	1850	1856	1861		1850	1856	1861
Lanarkshire	18,811	16,774	24,149	22,759	21,650	27,065	
Renfrewshire	19,777	2,270	2,968	7,580	7,580	8,749	
Elsewhere	2,776	2,580	2,993	5,468	5,468	5,423	
	<u>23,564</u>	<u>21,624</u>	<u>30,110</u>	<u>36,325</u>	<u>34,698</u>	<u>41,237</u>	

that they overlooked the glut which the steady increase in cotton growth was producing immediately prior to the Rebellion. As a consequence of this latter development Britain had 300 million pounds of manufactured cotton in storage in excess of normal production, and in June, 1861, there were well over a million bales of raw cotton in stock - nearly half a million more than the normal surplus. At the end of 1861, although not a single bale of the 1861 crop had been imported, there were still over 700,000 bales in stock, compared with about 540,000 at the end of the previous year. During 1861 Britain imported about two and a quarter million bales, compared with about two and two-thirds million in 1860. The famine that the Rebel leaders expected to follow immediately upon the cutting off of the cotton supply, was thus staved off throughout 1861, and the diminution in the import of cotton actually had the effect of preventing a serious depression from a glutted market. However, the famine began in earnest in 1862 with a sharp curtailment of imported cotton. The amount of cotton imported (1,146,000 bales) was less than half of that of the previous year. During the first half of 1862 no American cotton at all came through, and in the autumn only about 70,000 bales were received. The stock on hand dwindled to a low point of 100,000 bales in September, 1862, with a consumption and export of 30,000 bales. From this /

this point onward the situation gradually improved as new sources of cotton were developed and blockade running came to be organised on a large scale.⁽¹⁾

Bremner gives the following statistics on the Scottish cotton supply during and immediately after the Civil War:

Imports to Scotland

years	cwts.	cotton manufactures(value)
1861	172,055	£.19,009
1862	10,794	63,105
1864	7,216	30,027
1865	10,063	18,411
1866	19,736	24,711
1867	26,320	12,745

Exports from Scotland

years	cotton manufactures		cotton yarn	
	yards	value	lbs.	value
1861	150,754,031	£.2,644,419	6,550,400	£.467,612
1862	120,119,627	2,538,076	5,516,094	504,045
1864	94,766,371	2,693,731	5,827,611	831,395
1865	126,912,955	3,154,183	5,787,075	653,155
1866	164,194,915	4,346,157	7,733,268	847,833
1867	206,394,756	5,002,158	9,495,469	842,326 (2)

As early as September, 1861, the mills of Glasgow went on short time with a general reduction of hours from sixty to forty a week.⁽³⁾ It should be noted that the first phase of this distress was not caused by the cotton famine. As we have observed above, Scotland imported over 170,000 cwts. during 1861, while the total stock on hand in Britain as /

(1) See Henderson, op.cit., 35-51; Owsley, op.cit., 146-48.

(2) Bremner, op.cit., 288.

(3) Scotsman, 21, 23 Sept. 1861.

as a whole was nearly half again as large as it had been in the previous year. The first phase of the depression was caused chiefly by the temporary saturation of markets resulting from the previous "overproduction".⁽¹⁾ Heavy speculation resulting from the rapid rise in the price of raw cotton following the outbreak of the Rebellion⁽²⁾ was undoubtedly a contributing factor, in that it tempted brokers and factory owners to hold on to their stock of cotton for the time being, instead of releasing it for production.

The sudden onset of mass misery soon became a serious test of the Scottish Poor Law of 1845, which was even more stringent than the existing English Poor Law. According to its interpretation in the Scottish courts, no relief whatsoever was to be given out of the rates to the able bodied unemployed.⁽³⁾ However, the impact of the famine was so severe that local authorities in a number of districts /

(1) J. Strang, "On the Altered Condition of the Embroidered Muslin Manufacture of Scotland and Ireland since 1857", Journal of the Statistical Society, XXIV, 515-18; Henderson, op.cit., 156; Scotsman, 18 Sept. 1861.

(2) e.g., Scotsman, 22 Nov.

(3) Clapham, op.cit., 435-8; Henderson, op.cit., 157-61.

districts were induced to strain the law by giving out work to those in distress. Before the end of November the Glasgow parochial boards began to give indoor and outdoor relief to the unemployed for about one shilling per person per day. ⁽¹⁾ This policy was continued in

the following months. In April, 1862, for instance, 665 of the unemployed in the city were given work:

39 at stone breaking, 129 in the necropolis, 285 in the cleansing department, 87 in Kelvingrove Park, and 126 in Queen's Park. ⁽²⁾

Other parochial boards and town councils followed this example. In Auchterarder woodfelling and agricultural work was provided for the unemployed textile workers. ⁽³⁾

During the spring and summer of 1862 the condition of the cotton industry continued to deteriorate, ⁽⁴⁾ and on 12 August the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce called for a /

(1) Glasgow Herald, quoted in Scotsman, 30 Nov.

(2) Scotsman, 17 April 1862.

(3) Ibid, 29 May 1862.

(4) In April a Glasgow paper reported: "In our Scottish towns, petitioners, young and old, for the bounty of passers-by are becoming markedly more numerous; and the doors of many dwelling houses would at present require nearly one attendant to answer mendicant callers." (NBDM, 23 April).

(1)
 a Royal Commission to investigate the whole cotton question.
 On the 25th at a meeting called by the Glasgow employers to
 discuss the relief of unemployed cotton spinners and weavers,
 it was stated that there were 5000 unemployed, 9000 on part
 time, and over 10,000 fully employed. (2) A committee was
 then formed and a public meeting was called for 4 September
 to take measures to relieve the "severe distress" of the
 cotton workers, not only in Glasgow, but throughout the
 West of Scotland. Representatives, including J.P.s and
 burgh magistrates from all over the West, were urged to
 attend. (3) At the beginning of September the Glasgow Town
 Council reported that it had spent £4000 during the previous
 year to relieve unemployment. (4) Another response to the
 crisis was an agitation, carried on during the spring of
 1862, for a programme of Government aid to revive the
 muslin industry of Clydesdale and Ulster. (5) A petition
 in /

(1) Scotsman, 13 August 1862.

(2) Ibid, 27 August.

(3) Ibid, 28 August.

(4) Ibid, 3 September.

(5) There was a close connection between this industry in Glasgow and in Ulster. The muslin embroiderers and weavers in the latter province worked mostly for Glasgow manufacturers (Henderson, op.cit., 164, f.n.3).

in favour of this policy was circulated and received
strong backing from the Caledonian Mercury.⁽¹⁾

During the spring and summer the North British Daily Mail described the further progress of the distress and attacked the politicians for their failure to deal effectively with the situation.⁽²⁾ Proposals that the Government should intervene by instituting relief measures were attacked by some who argued that this would be a violation of free trade. The Mail countered by declaring that it was no time for theoretical hairsplitting and that laissez-faire should not be used as an excuse for doing nothing.⁽³⁾

There was, however, great opposition from influential circles to any violation of the laissez-faire principle. The Scotsman, for instance, reacted angrily to Gladstone's contention⁽⁴⁾ that the cotton manufacturers should bear the chief burden of helping the unemployed workers and should forego their profits during the period of depression. Attacking Gladstone's argument that the factory owners should stop speculating and use their supplies of cotton to /

(1) See Caledonian Mercury, May and June, passim.

(2) e.g., NBDM, 23 April.

(3) Ibid, 5 July.

(4) In his controversial speech at Newcastle on 6 October - in the course of which he gave vent to extreme pro-Confederate sympathies.

to keep the workers busy, the paper remarked indignantly that: "A man who finds he can sell his yarns at a profit is doing his best, not only for himself, but for those he may be inclined or bound to help; if he prefers sale at a profit to consumption at a loss. Business is one thing and charity another, and it is only profitable business which can furnish the means for charity."⁽¹⁾

The Mercury continued to follow with concern the growing distress of the workers in the cotton industry. On 11 August it declared:

"The savings of years have vanished. Debts have been accumulated which will form a serious burden for a considerable time after prosperity has been restored. Not the people alone, but the shopkeepers and small traders whose prosperity depends on the operatives are involved in the common distress; while the stagnation which has been induced in all branches of commerce in the afflicted districts and the increase in burdens rendered necessary by the numerous claimants for relief and the limitation of those by whom such burdens can be borne,⁽²⁾ are felt by every class in the community."

The Mercury supported the Government's decision to allow /

(1) Scotsman, 11th October 1862.

(2) Cal. Mer., 11 August.

allow the Poor Law Unions to borrow to meet the crisis, and replied to the critics of this policy by pointing out that the policy of borrowing to meet expenses was always followed during times of war. The paper also supported Cobden's rebuttal of Palmerston's accusation that the mill owners were profiteering at the worker's expense by selling their raw material at inflated prices rather than using it to give employment. This subject was debated pro and con throughout the cotton famine, but it was impossible to ascertain exactly how much speculation was being indulged in by the mill owners. There was undoubtedly less speculation by the Scottish owners, since the industry in Scotland was composed of smaller units and less heavily capitalised than the industry in Lancashire and therefore had less reserves with which to speculate. Praising the generosity of the employers to their workers, the Mercury asserted that this improvement in social conscience contributed to the general quietness which characterised this economic crisis (1) as compared with previous ones.

During the summer a number of the larger Scottish towns opened public subscriptions for the relief of the /

(1) Cal. Mer., loc.cit. In the following year the Tory Courant supported Villiers' bill in Parliament which would enable the Government to loan £1,500,000 to the Parish Boards to finance relief projects for the unemployed. (Courant, 24 June 1863).

the distress. (1) At first these subscriptions were intended for the relief of Lancashire, but as the Scottish situation worsened some of the funds were diverted to alleviate the latter. (2) Edinburgh, however, lagged behind in this effort; the idea of opening a public subscription in the capital was broached during the summer, but the project failed to materialise at the time. (3) As the cotton famine did not affect Edinburgh, many of the wealthier citizens of the city were apathetic to the whole matter and inclined to stand aside and allow the cotton manufacturers to suffer the consequences of their short sighted dependence on American supplies. Religious, political and personal tensions in Edinburgh probably also played a part in the failure to set up a relief fund at that time. (4)

In August the Mercury castigated Edinburgh for its failure to set up a subscription for the distressed as other Scottish towns had done and urged the workers to establish their own fund, as every penny was needed. (5)

The /

(1) On 27 June the Courant asserted that the steady increase in the distress showed the need for a central relief agency.

(2) Henderson, op.cit., 162.

(3) Cal. Mer., 1 Nov. 1862.

(4) e.g., see B. Bell, Memoir of Robert Paul, Edinburgh, 1872, pp.246, 250, 311.

(5) Cal. Mer., 22 August.

The Courant called for a national organisation in Scotland to send relief funds to Lancashire, and asserted that:

"Edinburgh is the natural centre in which to form it.

The wretched state of our civil government here is of course a difficulty in the way. If we had a Lord Provost of the kind of stamp that Edinburgh had in less democratic ages, the thing would soon be set going."⁽¹⁾

At the same time there were fears in Scotland that in the effort to relieve Lancashire, the suffering of the Scottish unemployed would be overlooked. A letter to the Scotsman expressed the hope that the publicity given to the situation on Lancashire "will not divert attention from the not less painful conditions of the mill operatives in Glasgow who, to the number of some thousands, are just now enduring all the horrors of the cotton famine. Each bitter, trying scene which we have read as descriptive of the struggle of the Preston operatives finds its direful counterpart in Glasgow and Dundee." The writer called on the wealthier citizens of Edinburgh to come to the aid of Glasgow and urged that trade union officials should be enlisted in the relief drive.⁽²⁾

In Glasgow, an "Unemployed Cotton Operatives' Relief Fund" was opened at a public meeting on 3 September. A central /

(1) Courant, 5 September.

(2) Scotsman, 30 August; letter signed "W".

central sub-committee under Baillie Thompson was entrusted with supervising and co-ordinating the handling of the fund, and four other sub-committees were established to handle its distribution.⁽¹⁾ Meanwhile, the last weeks of the year saw the famine at its worst point. At the end of October James Finlay & Co. of Glasgow, the largest manufacturers of shirtings and domestic goods in Scotland, closed down completely although the firm continued to pay its workers three days wages per week and opened a school for young workers.⁽²⁾ By the latter part of November thirteen mills had closed in Glasgow leaving 6000 workers unemployed. The Glasgow Relief Committee had begun by helping between four and eight hundred workers, but now had to deal with nearly two thousand every week. The difference between the latter figure and the total number of unemployed was due to the fact that the workers were reluctant to ask for relief and only did so when faced with starvation. The workers generally sold all of their furniture and clothes before applying for help. On one morning of November none of the houses visited by a member of the committee had a single bed. However, because the unemployed /

(1) Henderson, op.cit., 161.

(2) Scotsman, 1 November.

unemployed had by now sold most of their personal belongings, the number of those applying for relief was rapidly increasing toward the end of the year. As one Glasgow paper declared: "The quiet suffering that has⁽¹⁾ been thus endured is beyond recital".

At the same time the factory inspectors reported that the distress in Glasgow was manageable but severe; and reminded the Government that since the Scottish Poor Law forbade relief to able bodied paupers, the unemployed could not receive aid from the rates and were forced to depend on the subscription fund.

The worst distress was present not in Glasgow itself but in the adjacent country districts, such as Duntocher, Lochwinnoch, and Barrhead, where, at least until 27 November, no effective relief system had been organised. The Glasgow Relief Committee offered assistance contingent on local efforts. The most distressed district was Duntocher, which was totally dependent on the cotton industry and where the entire working population was⁽²⁾ consequently unemployed. At the same time "great suffering /

(1) NBDM, quoted in Scotsman, 24 November.

(2) "Reports of Inspectors of Factories for the Half Year Ending 31 October 1862", Parl. Papers, VIII, 1863, pp.472-80. At a meeting of the Glasgow Relief Committee on 27 November, H. Dunlop urged the committee to counter what he declared was an error widely held in Edinburgh and elsewhere, namely that the whole of the Scottish cotton industry was in Glasgow, whereas a large proportion of it was actually in the surrounding areas - Glas.Herald, 28 November.

suffering" was reported among "the lower orders" in Bathgate, due to the combined effect of the cotton famine and a current strike of the miners.⁽¹⁾

In several of the afflicted parishes of Glasgow, however, such as Bridgeton, Calton, and Kirkintilloch, the authorities were ignoring the letter of the law and giving relief to unemployed handloom weavers in return for work. At Calton, a "female" sewing school was opened which engaged 200 women, and similar schools were later opened by individual factories. A woman without dependents received 2/6 a week and could earn slightly more through a sewing class; if she had children she received more money but earned nothing from sewing.⁽²⁾ In depressed textile towns in other parts of Scotland there were various local voluntary relief efforts. A soup kitchen was opened in Crieff for the "deserving poor";⁽³⁾ in Dunfermline several charity groups gave aid to the distressed;⁽⁴⁾ while in Crieff local bankers and gentry were also assisting the "deserving poor".⁽⁵⁾

In /

(1) Scotsman, 27 November.

(2) Parl. Papers, loc. cit.

(3) Scotsman, 28 November.

(4) Ibid, 2 December.

(5) Ibid, 30 December.

In Edinburgh, the setting up of a Relief Committee was delayed for some weeks, although collections for the Lancashire workers were taken up in a number of U.P. churches in and around Edinburgh during the early autumn. (1) At the end of September Councillor MacNish, a Free Church Radical, moved that the Lord Provost's Committee initiate a subscription for the workers of Lancashire and Lanarkshire by making a contribution from the corporation. The proposal was opposed and withdrawn on the grounds that the question had already been remitted to the committee. However, impatience grew at the continued inactivity of the town council in the matter and a new committee was summoned privately by Sir William Johnston on the grounds that the Town Council had failed to do anything about the matter for three months. The Lord Provost attacked Johnston for not inviting him, the town councillors, or the magistrates (2) to serve on the new committee.

The first meeting of the new committee was held on 3 November; the Lord Provost was among those present (having been invited after his protest), together with Duncan MacLaren, Dr. Candlish, and other prominent figures. During /

(1) e.g., at the Queen St. U.P. church (Cal. Mer., 7 October) and at the West United U.P. church in Dalkeith (Ibid, 25 October).

(2) Cal. Mer., 1 November.

During the meeting it was urged that the Scottish unemployed should receive some of the money collected, but in the end the majority voted to send it all to Lancashire. Among those on the committee was Robert Paul, a banker and Free Churchman, who described the gathering as "a meeting to make a sort of second beginning for a subscription for the Lancashire destitution. (1) Everything went off smoothly and heartily". It is possible that continued tension between the Garrisonian Abolitionists and a section of the Free Church may have been one of the reasons for the controversy and delay over the opening of the Edinburgh subscription. Dr. MacLaglen, a Glasgow Free Churchman and friend of Bell, mentioned a Glasgow Quaker (referred to in Bell as "S" - William Smeal?), whom he described as "peculiar -- a thorough Christian man with crotchety views, but very manageable if you stroke him canny with the hair. This is, of course, our friend of the Alliance general meeting, (2) whom we thought so cantankerous", (evidently a reference to the controversy between the Scottish Garrisonians and the Evangelical Alliance).

Controversy /

(1) Paul-MacLaglen, quoted in Bell, op.cit., 246.

(2) MacLaglen-Paul, quoted in Bell, op.cit., 311.

Controversy continued in the Edinburgh Committee over the question of whether aid should be allocated to the unemployed cotton workers of Scotland. At a meeting of the committee on 7 November the chairman, Robert Scott-Moncrieff, reported that it had been urged by some that Scots should withhold aid to Lancashire in view of the threatened distress in the West of Scotland. The chairman, however, opposed this view, arguing that England would help Scotland if serious trouble developed.⁽¹⁾ At another meeting on the 12th, the new Lord Provost, Charles Lawson, spoke of imminent destitution in the West. The Duke of Buccleuch also spoke of distress in Glasgow, but insisted that it was more limited in scope than that in Lancashire and declared that the people assembled in Lancashire and declared that the people assembled would be as ready to help Scotland as England.⁽²⁾

Meanwhile the plans of the Glasgow Relief Committee were being put into operation. The sub-committee for the Western district opened a school at Anderston for 300 unemployed women workers and ran a soup kitchen in the town for six months. Another sub-committee operated a school where a thousand women were taught sewing, knitting, reading and writing. A similar school was run /

(1) Scotsman, 8 November 1862.

(2) Ibid, 13 November.

run by the Adelphi Cotton Works for its unemployed women workers. Soup kitchens were opened at Broomward and Stonehaven. At Milngavie, Dalglish, one of the Glasgow M.P.s, contributed cotton cloth to keep the unemployed women workers busy and also donated a large sum towards their wages for this work. Another sub-committee granted funds to the distressed country districts, although, as mentioned above, these grants were contingent on the respective districts making substantial efforts to help themselves. Local relief committees were eventually organised in a number of these afflicted areas, among them the Pollokshaws Relief Committee, The Kirkintilloch Working Men's Relief Fund, and the Kirkintilloch Fund for the Relief of the Unemployed (evidently the middle class counterpart of the latter). Contributions to the Scottish unemployed were also made by some of the organisations which had been originally formed to aid Lancashire - such as the Greenock Cotton Operatives Relief Fund. In some cases those receiving aid were employed on the public works. At Ayr, 80 workers were given outdoor work on the Low Green and the cemetery, "those employed on the latter being paid out of the Cemetery Funds". Over £200⁽¹⁾ was raised in the town to pay for the labour thus performed.

On /

(1) Henderson, op.cit., 162-3; see also reports on relief activities in the Glasgow Herald during this period.

On 27 November it was announced at a meeting of the Glasgow Relief Fund Committee that £13,574. 3s. 1d. had been collected so far, and that the number of weekly recipients was 2385, although this represented only a fraction of the total unemployed, the remainder having to depend for subsistence either upon their own resources, their fellow workers, or the mill owners. The number of applicants for relief was rising steadily. The original number of recipients had been 258, but in the near future it was expected to be over 2400. It was, however, pointed out that the other trades in Glasgow were doing well and it was suggested that the workers in these trades could contribute to aid the unemployed. Sheriff Alison praised the workers for the fact that out of 6000 unemployed, less than 2400 had applied for relief.⁽¹⁾

By December 6 the number of applicants for relief in Glasgow had increased to 3,100, and this number did not include the dependents of the applicants. The executive of the Relief Committee voted to make grants to employers to enable them to make small advances to the workers for food and clothing. The workers were expected to repay the grants when they were employed again.⁽²⁾ An appeal was /

(1) Glas. Herald, 28 November.

(2) Scotsman, 12 December.

was passed on to the committee from the tenters and powerloom weavers of Stenhouse for a pair of trousers and shoes each, as their own had worn out. 500 were reported to be needing assistance in Barrhead; a soup kitchen had been established in the town, but more clothing and money were needed since the population was almost entirely dependent

(1) on the cotton industry. During the early part of

December the 400 employees of Greenock's single cotton

(2) mill were reduced to short time. Meanwhile industrial

schools had been opened in Glasgow itself and were being

attended by 800 workers. At the same time the Lord

Provost wrote to the Lord Mayor of London asking that

Glasgow's proportionate share of contribution be returned

from the surplus left over from the Indian Relief Fund.

The former complained at a meeting of the Relief Committee

(3) that they had received no answer from the Lord Mayor.

In spite of the distress of the Scottish workers, there continued to be a widespread determination in Scotland to help the Lancashire unemployed. The relief committee in Grangemouth, for example, rejected a proposal that the local destitute should be given priority over those of /

(1) Scotsman, 26 December.

(2) Scotsman, 17 December. They apparently returned to full time after the middle of the month. In the same period trade was reported dull in the town of Denny in Stirlingshire, where some drysalters were unemployed -

(3) Scotsman, 26 December. Ibid, 6 December.

of Lancashire. (1) The Glasgow committee, however, found itself unable to help Lancashire because of the growing distress in the city. The fact that Glasgow was not aiding Lancashire was brought up in the course of a correspondence in the Times. (2) The critic was countered in a letter from "A Glasgow Man", who attacked those minimising the distress in Glasgow and Lanarkshire, which he declared were as badly off, although less vocal, than Lancashire. He asserted that there were 25,000 in Glasgow directly engaged in the cotton trade, and thousands more in trades dependent on that industry. Admitting that the number of relief applicants was not extremely large, he wrote that it was increasing by 30% per week, and only represented a fraction of those in distress, since the "honest pride and self-reliance" of the Scots prevented a large proportion from applying immediately. The writer averred that Glasgow would not accept outside assistance and would help all of the West of Scotland, but that the city should not be sneered at for not helping Lancashire. (3)

The workers also received a large amount of sympathy and aid from the Church. We have already observed that the /

(1) Scotsman, 20 November.

(2) Times, 4 December.

(3) Times, 10 Dec; This correspondence is referred to in Henderson, op.cit., 157, p. 154.

the U.P.s had begun taking up collections for the unemployed, and the practice was soon adopted by the other Protestant denominations and was continued during the worst months of the famine. The social conscience of the Residuaries was aroused as well as that of the Free Churchmen. The Presbyterian literary magazine published by the Reverend Norman M'Leod, leader of the Liberal wing of the Establishment, carried a forthright article on the famine. The author, John Hollingshead, gave a vivid description of the evil conditions prevailing in Lancashire and expressed great admiration for the fortitude of the cotton workers. He described the sympathy aroused "all over the world for the workers....a class that would rather starve than beg.....Sympathy for such distress refuses to be hemmed in by Poor Law barriers". Hollingshead called for liberal aid to the workers and urged that they must not be allowed to lose their high morale and sink into the condition of slum dwellers - a development which would be a great loss to the country. He stated that relief of the famine would be necessary before too long, but gave no countenance to the campaign for intervention, maintaining that enough cotton could be obtained from other sources to tide the industry over the war period. (1)

The /

(1) Good Words, Oct. 1862.

The Protestant press, including particularly the Mercury, expressed strong sympathy with the unemployed and continued to call for more contributions to the relief fund. On November 19 the Edinburgh Commission of the Free Church discussed its relief efforts for Lancashire, and Dr. Begg denounced the Lancashire capitalists for acting as the chief support of slavery by continuing to use slave-grown cotton. Mr. Howie of Glasgow told the Commission that they could not appeal for aid to Lancashire from Clydeside, since the local distress was so severe. Dr. Buchanan agreed, adding that the suffering in the West of Scotland was almost as bad, proportionately, as that in Lancashire, and urged that a proportion of the Free Church contributions should be distributed in Scotland. On the same day the Established Commission discussed the question; Drs. Muir and Leishman spoke of the great distress prevalent or imminent in the West and urged that the Establishment should aid Scotland first.⁽¹⁾

The Scottish cotton famine gradually but slowly improved from 1863 onwards, although considerable distress remained for some time;⁽²⁾ and, indeed, the industry in Scotland /

(1) Scotsman, 20 November 1862.

(2) See weekly economic reports in the Scotsman, 1863-65, passim.

Scotland never recovered from the blow which it received as a result of the interruption of the cotton supply from the South. ⁽¹⁾

In the early spring of 1863, for example, the cotton famine in and around Lanark began to lift and the spinners of New Lanark were given an increase in work, with the expectation of returning to full time at the beginning of April. During the previous months, however, many of the workers had been starving. ⁽²⁾

At the same time the Glasgow Relief Committee was continuing its collections and disbursements. ⁽³⁾

In the opening weeks of 1863, the Committee received the two largest donations, consisting of £1000 presented by the Scottish Cotton Operatives Relief Committee of Melbourne and a similar amount from John Freeman, a retired Glasgow merchant. ⁽⁴⁾

The Committee continued to aid other distressed districts in the West; sending, for example, £25 and 25 barrels of flour in answer to an appeal from the relief committee of New Lanark. ⁽⁵⁾

By November 1863, the Committee had received /

(1) Henderson, op.cit., 163-4.

(2) Courant, 23 March 1863.

(3) See report of the Relief Committee, Scotsman, 3 March 1863.

(4) Glasgow Herald, 2 January, 16 February, 1863; Henderson, op.cit., 161.

(5) Courant, 23 March.

received a total of £36,320 and had distributed
 (1)
 £29,881. 8s. 7d.

By the latter part of the nineteenth century, emigration had been adopted by the Scot as a traditional method of meeting his economic problems - an extension of the eighteenth century conviction that the best road in Scotland was the one leading to London. Now during the cotton famine there was a more widespread conviction in Scotland that emigration was the best means of relieving the situation. The Radical press was in fact particularly vocal in expounding the supposed benefits of mass emigration on the part of the unemployed. On 4 September 1862, the Caledonian Mercury reported that the authorities in Otago, New Zealand, had called for emigrants, and went on to argue in favour of emigration (2) as a means of relieving the distress in Lanarkshire.

In /

(1) Glasgow Herald, 26 November 1863; NBDM, 1 December. Controversy continued over the workings of the relief fund in Edinburgh. A member of the Edinburgh Committee expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that all the money collected in Edinburgh had been sent to Manchester (in line with the policy agreed upon at the public meeting on November 13 and supported by the Commissions of the Free and Established Churches). The member suggested the formation of a new committee to raise and disburse funds for Scottish relief, in view of the fact that during the early part of 1863 a number of applications had come in from some of the distressed areas in the West of Scotland, which the existing Edinburgh Committee was not empowered to aid. (Courant, 23 March).

(2) Cal. Mer., 4 Sept.; also Henderson, op.cit., 163.

In the West, the North British Daily Mail argued at length in favour of emigration as "the best and cheapest remedy".⁽¹⁾ On the advice of its sub-committees the executive committee of the Glasgow Relief Committee held a meeting of subscribers on 13 July 1863, which voted £2,000 to help cotton workers to emigrate. 424 emigrants were assisted to leave for Canada, while others went to Australia.⁽²⁾ In October of the same year, Henry Jordan of Brisbane was urging in Scotland that Australia be developed as a source of cotton and called for emigration to that colony.⁽³⁾

An interesting fictional treatment of the Scottish cotton famine illustrates the prevailing attitude toward the distress. This short story, entitled "Phemie's Ring; a story of the Mill Distress",⁽⁴⁾ contains a vivid description of the misery and near starvation of a Clydeside working class family. Phemie, the heroine, suffers many tribulations, such as the lack of food and fuel, and is unable to get alternative employment in a shop, since the famine /

(1) e.g., NBDM, 23 April 1862.

(2) Henderson, op.cit., 163.

(3) Scotsman, 16, 19 October 1863.

(4) Published in the Christian Treasury, June 1865, pp. 295-98.

famine has affected not only the cotton mills but also the dependent trades. In the end, her fiancée, Willie Maxwell, returns from sea, marries her, and takes her, together with her younger brother and sister, to New Zealand, where they prosper. The distress is viewed as a natural catastrophe, like an earthquake or a flood. Emigration is looked on as the answer to the problem, and there is no suggestion that the Government should provide work for the unemployed, or in fact do anything to prevent the disintegration of the Scottish cotton industry. This policy of encouraging the emigration of the cotton workers was undoubtedly one reason why the Scottish cotton industry, unlike the Lancashire, never recovered from the famine and steadily withered during the ensuing years.⁽¹⁾

It was upon the distress described above that the leaders of Secession had counted to force European intervention in their favour. At the very outbreak of the war /

(1) For the attitude of the trade unions toward the question, see C. Erikson, "The British Trade Unions and Emigration", Population Studies, III, (1949-50), pp. 248 et seq. This article proves that the unions were still supporting emigration at this period as a means of relieving unemployment, and in fact continued to do so until the depression years of the '80's and the rise of the new unionism. In Scottish trade union circles during the cotton famine there were heated debates between those who favoured emigration as a means of advancing the welfare of the workers and those who supported a policy of strikes. See also Clapham, op.cit., 231-4.

war the Scottish Radicals grasped the significance which the impact of the threatened cotton famine would have on the movement for working class franchise. At the great labour rally held in Edinburgh on 10 May 1861 to demand the vote for the workers, ex-Bailie Fyfe, one of the Radical leaders, linked the approaching famine with the franchise question. In discussing the possibility of widespread distress, Fyfe deplored the fact that the Government had delayed for so long in giving the vote to the workers and urged that it should do so before distress should strike and drive the workers out of hand, with no political means for righting their grievances.⁽¹⁾

In spite of the severe distress, and considerable agitation by pro-Confederate elements, no mass movement developed in favour of intervening or breaking the blockade, and there was widespread resistance to any such suggestion. Dr. Guthrie wrote to the Duchess of Argyll:

"I hope we won't break the blockade. I had rather pay one-fourth stipend for two years to support our West Country and Lancashire weavers and spinners, than deal any longer in slave grown cotton. I am happy to find a very general feeling of the same kind in all I meet. After the /

(1) Cal. Mer., 11 May 1861.

the Poor Law provision is strained to the breaking, I believe that an appeal to the country to keep those workers in bread until our colonies could supply the demand for cotton would meet a magnanimous and munificent response."⁽¹⁾

On 4 November 1862, a large crowd of the unemployed cotton workers of Glasgow assembled in the Reformers' Hall for the first of a series of public meetings to discuss their plight and measures to relieve it. It is highly significant that, despite the promptings of the pro-Confederate press, these meetings steadfastly refused to call upon the Government to intervene in favour of the Rebels in order to obtain cotton. The first meeting set the tone for the subsequent ones by merely calling for a more liberal distribution of the relief fund and appealing particularly to the other workers of Glasgow for more help during the coming winter.⁽²⁾

At the same time the suffering of the unemployed aroused widespread criticism of the Scottish Poor Law and of the official treatment of the poor in general. During the /

(1) Guthrie-Duchess of Argyll, 8 May 1862 (Guthrie Papers, National Library of Scotland).

(2) Cal. Mer., 5 November 1862; Scotsman, 6 November.

the worst part of the famine, for instance, a letter to the Scotsman expressed the hope that the campaign for Lancashire relief would result in more liberal allowances for the Scottish poor. Describing the hard conditions which the unemployed were forced to endure, the writer alluded to the fact that allowances to old people were generally between 2d and 3½d per day and to widows and children between 1½d and 2d per day, while some parishes were even more niggardly than this. (1)

We have already noted that at Kirkintilloch a separate working class fund was set up; this was only one example of a nation-wide effort at self-help undertaken by the Scottish workers. This independent effort on the part of the workers was facilitated by the fact that some industries were thriving as a result of the Civil War. On 11 November 1862, a letter appeared in the Caledonian Mercury calling on the Trade Unions to support the relief drive, arguing that thereby they would not only help their fellow workers, but also raise the prestige of the unions by demonstrating their efficiency. The suggestion received editorial support from the Mercury. (2) A few days later a /

(1) Scotsman, 27 December 1862.

(2) Cal. Mer., 11 November 1862.

a letter from a worker praised the efforts of the Edinburgh Relief Committee but asserted that the unemployed must depend to a considerable extent on their fellow workers and called on the working class to continue and extend its efforts.⁽¹⁾

The Scottish workers soon rallied to the support of the distressed on an unprecedented scale, and there are many reports of workers' contributions during the famine period. At the end of October, for instance, the workers in the hat factory of Craig, Christie & Co., of Edinburgh, were each contributing 2d or more per week, and at their suggestion the other hat workers of Edinburgh agreed to do likewise.⁽²⁾

A list of contributions to Lancashire relief published on 14 November includes £7 from "workmen in the employ of A. Boak, Esq."⁽³⁾ At the same time the workers in a number of other factories were making periodic contributions, and the Relief Committee was planning to extend the programme to every workshop in the city. In Aberdeen the workers set up an independent relief committee and made collections from Aberdeen works to /

(1) Cal. Mer., 19 November.

(2) Scotsman, 31 October 1862.

(3) Ibid, 14 November.

to aid the unemployed in Lancashire. ⁽¹⁾ Workers in many other Scottish towns soon joined in making independent contributions to the fund. ⁽²⁾ At Arbroath, a working class meeting was held to raise money for Lancashire, and a committee of 44 workers was set up to ⁽³⁾ organise the drive.

The self-discipline and solidarity of the workers in the face of the cotton famine came as a shock to many conservatives in both Britain and America, but undoubtedly the workers gained immensely in prestige among the Protestant and Liberal middle classes. In view of the fact that the cotton workers had a tradition of militancy, the calm which they now maintained aroused surprise and respect. The Factory Inspectors reported that the cotton workers were "generally well up on the topics of the day and fond of discussing social and political questions; this feverishness of temperament may be somewhat due to the exciting nature of their occupation". Describing the amazement of the employers at the calm spirit of sacrifice /

(1) See article reporting on a meeting of the Aberdeen Lancashire Relief Committee, speech of Mr. Lindsay, Scotsman, 18 November.

(2) Ibid, 19 November.

(3) Ibid, 26 November.

sacrifice shown by the workers, the Inspectors declared: "The manner in which a people so circumstanced have borne the sudden annihilation of their means of existence has certainly no small claim on our respect...People who would once have been so turbulent and unruly in these districts under such sufferings have now borne them with the most exemplary patience".⁽¹⁾

Hollingshead expressed the same sentiments more forcefully when he wrote in Good Words: "This misery is endured without murmuring for the sake of a great principle. A blockade is respected which could be broken through like a cobweb, and a great moral example is set to all powerful nations".⁽²⁾

The Duchess of Argyll maintained that the conduct of the workers was "abundant compensation for all the coldness and frivolity about America on the part of the idler part of the nation. It has been very noble".⁽³⁾

While Thompson declared to Garrison: "Too much praise cannot be awarded to our unemployed and suffering population in the manufacturing districts, for the patient and uncompromising fortitude with which they have borne their privations /

(1) Parl. Papers, loc. cit., 478, 579.

(2) Good Words, 1862, p. 593.

(3) Duchess of Argyll-Sumner, 3 December 1862 - JPMHA, XLVII, 100.

privations...Many and evil have been the attempts to stir them to utter a demand for interference on the part of the Government with a view to the recognition of the rebel states and the opening of the Southern ports. But they have been proof against all temptation and have found amongst themselves able spokesmen to answer the enemies of the North and the cause of freedom⁽¹⁾".

It should be noted briefly here (the matter is dealt with at greater length in subsequent chapters) that labour circles were not unanimously hostile or unsympathetic toward the Rebellion. A sympathetic attitude toward the latter was maintained by two important labour figures on Clydeside - Alexander MacDonald, the head of the Scottish miners, and Alexander Campbell, who was prominent in the Scottish co-operative and trade union movements. Their organ, the Glasgow Sentinel, was strongly in favour of recognition of the Confederacy by Britain.⁽²⁾ This particular attitude of the paper, however, failed to arouse any widespread enthusiasm on this issue among the labour rank and file.

The /

(1) Thompson-Garrison, 12 December 1862 (MS, Garrison Collection).

(2) Glasgow Sentinel, 1862-63, passim.

The conduct of the workers in the face of the famine was quickly seized upon by the Scottish radicals as proof that the workers should be given the vote. The Mercury, comparing the general calmness prevailing among the workers with the disturbances marking previous economic crises, declared that the contrast demonstrated "the increasing intelligence of the working classes"⁽¹⁾. The Tories did their best to refute this powerful argument. The riots of the unemployed at Staleybridge and Ashton were seized upon by the Courant as showing the basic iniquity of the working class. Accusing the workers of "ingratitude" and of biting the hand that fed them, the Tory organ interpreted the riots as indicating "that the working classes of the manufacturing districts are not yet quite so enlightened as it has been the interest of certain demagogues to represent them"⁽²⁾. The Courant maintained that the "demagogues" had been silenced by the fact that the distress was due neither to normal market fluctuations nor to an Anglo-American war, but to what the paper described as the workings of democracy in America. According to the Courant: "The North of England is now being tortured /

(1) Cal. Mer., 11 August 1862.

(2) Courant, 30 March 1863.

tortured by the operations of that Democracy which it
has always held up to the admiration of the world".⁽¹⁾

In further articles attacking the Manchester school, the
Tory organ linked the failure of the cotton supply with
what it alleged to be the failure of Manchester Radical-
ism in America.⁽²⁾

Generally speaking, the Tories were only able to
grasp at a few straws on this sector of their great debate
with the Radicals, whose cause was greatly advanced by
the maturity and general awareness demonstrated by the
workers during the crisis. The workers' conduct not
only helped to bring about the Second Reform Act several
years later, but marked a significant stage in the rise
of labour as an independent political force.

- - - - -

The cotton famine and its attendant circumstances
led also to a revival of imperial thinking, which had
been at a low ebb during the mid-century. The press,
from left to right, was united in demanding the speedy
opening up of alternative cotton supplies in India, Africa
and elsewhere. Early in the summer of 1862 the Mercury
began /

(1) Courant, 27 June 1862.

(2) Ibid, 4 September 1862.

began to call for the immediate development of cotton culture in India, Australia and the West Indies. ⁽¹⁾ At the same time the Edinburgh Review helped to focus attention on Africa, by linking the cotton problem with the recent explorations of Livingstone, Buxton and others. The Edinburgh was particularly interested in Livingstone's report on the cotton-growing potentialities of the Zambesi valley, as well as of Mozambique and other areas covered by the great explorer. The lack of skilled labour in these areas was, however, recognised as a drawback to any immediate, rapid expansion, and India was held out as the best hope for the near future. ⁽²⁾

The Scotsman attacked the cotton interests for their continued dependence on America and found itself in the unusual position of agreeing with a proposal of John Bright, made in a speech at Birmingham on 4 June, for the intensive development of Indian cotton. The Scotsman expressed the belief that if this policy were adopted, Britain could be largely free from dependence on America by the following summer. ⁽³⁾

The Courant shared these high hopes concerning the potentialities /

(1) Cal. Mer., 23 June 1862.

(2) Edinburgh Review, CXV, 482, et. seq., (April 1862).

(3) Scotsman, 9 June 1862.

potentialities of India and expressed the conviction that: "Even the sluggish Hindoo cannot be quite insensible to the advances of the speculators in Bombay".⁽¹⁾ Attempting to dispel the prejudice commonly entertained against Indian cotton, due to its excessive adulteration, the Courant argued that this adulteration was due only to the recent extreme rise in price, and maintained that by replacing America as the chief source of cotton, India would bring great prosperity to herself.⁽²⁾ The N.B. Daily Mail urged that the Indian Government instruct the natives in the cultivation of the plant, improve transport facilities, and in general take all possible measures to increase cultivation short of actually speculating in cotton.⁽³⁾ During the intervention crisis in the autumn of 1862, the possibility of obtaining sufficient cotton from alternative sources was used as an argument by those opposing the campaign for the recognition of the Confederacy.⁽⁴⁾

The Glasgow Chamber of Commerce also showed strong interest /

(1) Courant, 13 September 1862.

(2) Ibid, 13 September 1862, 5 January 1863.

(3) e.g. NBDM, 23 April, 5 July 1862.

(4) e.g., See Hollingshead, Article in Good Words, loc. cit.

interest in the question of alternative supplies and in the cotton growing possibilities of the empire. At a meeting of the Chamber in August 1862, for instance, a memorial was despatched to Palmerston calling attention to the acute distress prevailing in the West as a result of the cotton famine and calling for a Royal Commission to investigate the condition of the industry and the possibilities of opening up new sources of supply. (1)

The following month the Chamber was addressed by Samuel Laing, Scots writer and traveller, who was Financial Secretary for India at the time. Laing argued that the cause of governmental and administrative reform was of the utmost importance, not only for India, but also for commercial and industrial centres such as Glasgow, which, he urged, should take an active part in the movement to secure better government for India. Laing, however, firmly discouraged the high hopes that India might provide a solution to the current cotton famine. "A supply of that magnitude which has been obtained from America - 4,000,000 bales - is not to be created by any process within a short time", he warned, "even if the continuance of high prices were certain. I think for the alleviation of /

(1) Glasgow Herald, 28 August 1862.

of the crisis which is pressing so heavily on the manufacturing population of this country, we must look to America⁽¹⁾ and to America only".

The opening up of Africa was also closely associated with the need for an alternative source of cotton, and here a prominent part was played by Scottish missionary explorers, notably David and Charles Livingstone and James Stewart, who were engaged in their famous Zambesiland expedition during most of the Civil War period (i.e., 1858-64). These Scottish explorers were strongly anti-slavery and hoped to encourage the growth of cotton in Africa by free labour in order to undermine the position of the American slaveholders. Livingstone also hoped that the systematic cultivation of "free" cotton by the natives would put an end to the African slave trade and the incessant tribal wars encouraged by this traffic.

The /

(1) Scotsman, 23 September 1862. The efforts of the Radicals to amend the oppressive system of land tenure in India involved them in domestic controversy. The Courant, although in favour of developing the Empire, nevertheless strongly opposed suggestions for Indian land reform - evidently fearing that it might set a precedent for similar reforms at home (e.g., Courant, 8 July 1863). In point of fact, informed circles had largely abandoned hope of obtaining any large increase in the Indian cotton supply - see Owsley, op.cit., Chapter I.

The anti-slavery impulse behind Livingstone's labours can be seen in his account of the Zambesi expedition where he makes an urgent plea for the ending of the slave trade as the basic precondition for economic and social progress in Africa. Livingstone blamed the American Civil War entirely on slavery and asserted that: "The degradation of the slave must not only demoralise the master, but (1) probably the master is the greater loser of the two!"

Reports on the cotton growing possibilities of Africa were made to the Cotton Supply Association by the Livingstone expedition, as well as by that of the American negro, (2) Dr. Delaney, who was exploring West Africa. Charles Livingstone sent a report describing the great possibilities of cotton growing in Central Africa to Thomas Clegg, a Manchester cotton manufacturer. (3) Before leaving for Africa, James Stewart described to a public meeting in Manchester his hopes of finding a source of cotton in Zambesiland and succeeded in arousing great interest in the city. (4) In the summer of 1861 he sent back a detailed /

(1) D. Livingstone, Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries, London, 1865, pp. 595-6.

(2) I. Watts, The Cotton Supply Association, Manchester, 1871, p. 98.

(3) ASR, s.3, VIII, 139-40 (June, 1860).

(4) J. Wells, Stewart of Lovedale, London, 1908, pp.74-5; see pp. 62-94 for Stewart's part in the Zambesi expedition.

detailed report on the subject to the Cotton Supply Association. Recording that he had found small patches of cotton growing in the Shire Valley, and also native weavers, Stewart asserted that the territory was an important potential source of cotton. He added that the suppression of the slave trade and the establishment of settled government were essential if cotton were to be systematically developed there.⁽¹⁾ The New Imperialism of the eighties was thus foreshadowed during the cotton famine.⁽²⁾

(1) J. Stewart, The Zambesi Journal of James Stewart, ed. J. Wallis, London, 1952, Appendix 3, pp. 266-8 (extracts from his report to the Cotton Supply Association, 24 June 1861).

(2) See Thompson-Garrison, 4 December 1863; also Ibid, n.d., 1863, (Garrison Papers); the Scottish Tories rejoiced in the revival of imperial thinking during the famine - e.g., Courant, 19 October 1863. See also Marx, op.cit., III, 346, f.n.1.

Dundee Linen and Jute.

The fortunes of the linen and jute industries of Dundee during the Civil War contrasted sharply with those of the cotton industry in the West, and did much to balance the effect of the cotton industry in Scotland. (1) America was the chief market for the industry of Dundee, so that serious depression was caused in the city by the Morrill Tarriff and the disorganisation of the American market by the war which broke out soon afterwards. In April 1861, Dundee exported to America only one-fifth as much as in April 1859. (2) Conditions in the industry continued to deteriorate as the year progressed, although in November large orders for linen goods began to be placed in Dundee by the American Government. (3) As a result of the Trent affair, these orders were cancelled, (4) and this, together with the threat of war with America, caused trade in the city to stop almost completely. Considerable distress developed and in January, 1862, a voluntary soup kitchen was opened. (5)

After /

(1) Clapham, op.cit., 373-5.

(2) See D. Carrie, Dundee and the American Civil War, p.12, Dundee, 1953.

(3) Scotsman, 7 November 1861.

(4) Ibid, 1 January 1863.

(5) Carrie, op.cit., p.12.

After the settlement of the Trent dispute, large American orders for canvas equipment began to come in again, and at the end of January there were large purchases of flax in the Dundee market, due to American military demands and to the general need for a cotton

(1) substitute. The trade in jute goods, however, remained depressed throughout the winter. One of the chief products of the jute industry was the bagging used to wrap cotton bales, so that the rapid rise in cotton prices led to further worsening of the position of the jute industry. (2)

In February the Seafield Works, one of the major factories in the city, suspended payment because of its inability to realise its American assets. The depression continued during the following spring, while the ending of the Civil War was reported to be (3) "yearned for in business circles". In the latter

part of April there was some increase in production as large orders for jute bags came in from America and from (4) new markets created by the cotton famine, but depression continued /

(1) Carrie, op.cit., 12-13, 24.

(2) Scotsman, 27 February 1862.

(3) Ibid, 17 April.

(4) Carrie, op.cit., 13.

continued to be general throughout May and most of June. ⁽¹⁾

At the end of June improvement began as the Seafield Works reopened and the Douglas and Anchor Mills prepared to do

so, ⁽²⁾ although general recovery in trade was hindered by the continued decline in Manchester's demand for packing material and by the fact that the price for Russian flax ⁽³⁾ was rising in conjunction with that of cotton. Never-

theless, large American orders were being placed in the city, and the linen, jute, and hemp industries improved

steadily throughout the summer. ⁽⁴⁾ The factories which reopened between March and September employed 2800 workers, while those preparing to do so required another 1700.

Some idea of the profits being made in Dundee at this time can be arrived at by noting that although the price of raw jute rose 27% between June and September, the price of hessian increased by 46% - "very fair working profits", as the Chamber of Commerce reported. By the end of September, the city was enjoying full employment, and in October the labour shortage induced the employers to grant an /

(1) Scotsman, 26 June.

(2) Carrie, loc. cit.

(3) Scotsman, 3 July.

(4) Ibid, 14, 28 August.

an increase of between 3d and 6d per week. In spite of the attempts to recruit powerloom weavers from Lancashire and Glasgow, there was no large scale movement from these depressed districts to Dundee. Most of the new workers were handloom weavers from Angus and the adjoining counties where the trade was dying out. Kirriemuir, for example, sent a large contingent. In November twice as many ships arrived in Dundee as in the same month of the previous year, and 88 of them brought cargoes of flax alone. The amount of linen goods leaving Dundee reached its highest ever peak - 1000 tons per week, and the opening⁽¹⁾ of a direct shipping line to America was being discussed.

The following table shows the amount of raw jute and flax imported into Dundee during the period under discussion:

Year	Jute (tons)	Flax (tons)
1860	36,965	28,644
1861	35,716	23,801
1862	38,277	32,102
1863	46,983	22,945
1864	56,404	29,902
1865	71,000	36,200 (2)

It is not surprising that pro-Federal sympathies ran high in Dundee political and business circles, for, as the /

(1) Carrie, op.cit., 14-16.

(2) Ibid, Appendix A, p. 24.

the Dundee Advertiser put it, the Americans "are the employers of the employers of the larger proportion of our Dundee working folk, and it is they who...provide the ...weekly wages of half of the people we meet in our streets".⁽¹⁾

Speaking at a public meeting at the Corn Exchange on 5 November, W. E. Baxter, M.P., expressed this strong public sympathy with the Federals and compared the progressive character of the free states of America with the stagnant and retrograde society of the South, where only the rich planters enjoyed civilised amenities while the poor whites lived in misery. Baxter blamed slavery for social demoralisation in the South and argued that there was no reason why cotton could not be cultivated by free labour. Discussing the issue of the war, Baxter declared that in spite of various pretexts and afterthoughts invented for the purpose of throwing dust in the eyes of Europe "slavery was the real cause and issue....What I want to bring out now is that there can be no safety, much less good government and progress, in any country based upon such a programme as that adopted by the Southern Confederacy; nor do I believe any peace or /

(1) Quoted in op.cit., 16.

or settlement worth six months' purchase as long as the fountainhead and origin of the evil is not removed. Any arrangement short of eventual emancipation may delude the Liverpool cotton brokers and the Conservative country gentlemen, but inasmuch as it leaves the source of hostility more active and aggressive than ever, it will prove but a hollow and impolitic truce".⁽¹⁾ The Dundee industrialists were quite content to see the war fought out to the bitter end.

On 19 September Sir John Ogilvie, the other Liberal M.P. for Dundee, told his constituents that since the election of Lincoln he had anticipated better relations with America and referred to the sympathy expressed by the New York Chamber of Commerce for the workers of Lancashire as a sign of this improvement.⁽²⁾

The city's leading clergyman, the Reverend George Gilfillan, followed a somewhat more erratic course in regard to America. He was, during the early part of the war, pro-Federal, or at least anti-Confederate. Towards the end of 1862 he preached a sermon against the adulation of /

(1) Scotsman, 6 November 1862; Courant, 6 November.

(2) Scotsman, 22 December.

of Stonewall Jackson by Rebel sympathisers - who were subjected to "burning invective" by Gilfillan. The preacher described the Rebel general as "the miserable caricature of Oliver Cromwell....Cromwell fought in his own wild way for freedom - Jackson for the worst of the thousand forms of despotism; and the sympathy felt for him by many in this country was disgraceful to it". At the same time Gilfillan alleged that the American Church had condoned slavery and thus "had produced American infidelity. Whenever an American sceptic was at a loss for an argument he had only to raise his finger and point South".⁽¹⁾

Dundee also responded liberally to the appeal to aid the unemployed cotton workers, and had contributed over £6000 by the close of 1862.⁽²⁾ Sir David Baxter, another member of the mercantile and manufacturing dynasty of Dundee, was one of the leading contributors to the Relief Fund.⁽³⁾

During 1863, the boom in the Dundee linen industry continued /

(1) Scotsman, 25 December 1862.

(2) Carrie, op.cit., 16.

(3) E. Norrie, Dundee Celebrities of the Nineteenth Century, Dundee, 1873, p. 403.

continued in full force. During May, 6,500,000 yards of linen were exported from Britain to America, compared with 2,750,000 in the previous May, and 750,000 in May 1861. By the summer the price of $10\frac{1}{2}$ oz., 40 in. hessian had risen to $3\frac{3}{4}$ d - the same price at which it was selling at the opening of the Second World War. When British-American relations deteriorated as a result of the building of Rebel warships in Liverpool and Glasgow, the Dundee Advertiser warned: "A war with America means, in this town at least, half-time, half-wages, and half-meals".⁽¹⁾

In the month of August there were two wage rises of 3 d per week,⁽²⁾ while at the same time there was a large expansion of the factories in the city. In the autumn of 1863, two of the leading firms, Cox and Gilroy, began buying ships, while the harbour was enlarged and direct importation of jute to Dundee commenced.⁽³⁾ By November 1863, the price of $10\frac{1}{2}$ oz., 40 in. hessian stood at $5\frac{3}{4}$ d - twice the price at which it had stood in 1861. Other Dundee trades benefitted from the prosperity of the main industries; the slaters and painters, for instance, enjoyed /

(1) Carrie, op.cit., 17.

(2) Ibid,

(3) Ibid, 18-19. It had previously been necessary to ship the product from other ports by rail.

enjoyed full employment and wage increases. Even the scavengers obtained a rise of a shilling per week.⁽¹⁾ Early in 1864 the price of jute fell off owing^{to} the German invasion of Denmark and the greatly increased production of jute in India.⁽²⁾ However, the market improved again after the re-election of President Lincoln, and the resounding defeat of the peace party, which made certain⁽³⁾ that the war would not end in a compromise peace. Prices began to fall again early in 1865, but prosperity continued until 1867, when the American Government dumped its surplus war goods on the market and raised the tariff still higher on Dundee goods. By the following year⁽⁴⁾ Dundee was in the throes of depression again.

Certain other textile towns were affected by the Civil War. In Arbroath, another linen centre, the war stimulated the manufacture of sail cloth which had previously begun to decline owing to the increase in steam /

(1) Carrie, op.cit., 19-20.

(2) Ibid, 19-20.

(3) Ibid, 21.

(4) Ibid, 22.

(1)
 steam navigation. The need for a substitute for
 cotton during the famine period was a further stimulus
 to the linen industry of the town, leading to an increase
 in wages and employment together with a general expansion
 of the industry there. (2)

The early Sixties saw a strong revival of the Fife
 linen industry, which had been languishing during the two
 previous decades. New factories were built in some of
 the smaller towns of the county, such as Dysart, Tayport,
 Falkland, Kingskettle, Ladybank, Auchtermuchty and Strath-
 miglo. (3)
 The linen boom set off by the Civil War was
 undoubtedly an important cause of this development. The
 following figures indicate the state of the linen industry
 in 1863:

Districts	No. of works	Nominal h.p.	No. of spindles	Power looms	Persons employed
Kirkcaldy & district	18	909	28,670	1612	3887
Dunfermline	5	410	1,100	1858	2410
Leven district	9	856	32,350	252	3044
Eden district	16	444	10,478	1271	2038
Tayport	<u>3</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>2,000</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>200</u>
	51	2691	74,658	5038	11,579 (4)

This /

(1) W. Turner, The Textile Industry of Arbroath since the Early Eighteenth Century, Dundee, 1954, p.15. Marwick, op. cit., 113.

(2) Scotsman, 14 October, 3 November, 1862.

(3) A. Millar, Fife: Pictorial and Historical, Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1895, p.44.

(4) A. J. Warden, The Linen Trade, Ancient and Modern, Dundee, 1864; quoted in Millar, op.cit., 44.

This renewed growth of the industry in Fife (and adjoining areas) was not a steady development. The county was severely hit by depression in the early part of the war - for the same reasons which had caused distress in Dundee, namely the Morrill tariff, the disorganisation of the American market due to the outbreak of the Rebellion, and the inflated price of raw textiles following the blockade of the Southern ports. Dunfermline, the centre of the Scottish fine linen industry, was especially afflicted. The American market absorbed about half of the linen produced in Dunfermline,⁽¹⁾ and luxury trades naturally suffered more than others as a result of the war. In Kirkcaldy, on the other hand, where the industry specialised in producing coarse linen products (tents, bagging, etc.) there is no evidence of serious distress during this period. During the first winter of the war, Dunfermline was already in the throes of a serious depression, which was aggravated by the Trent affair. There was a great deal of unemployment and destitution, with "groups of listless and hopeless looking men to be seen daily at the Cross and the Cannon".⁽²⁾ After the settlement /

(1) Scotsman, 21 July 1862; A. MacKay, A. History of Fife and Kinross, Edbg. and London, 1896, pp.215-6.

(2) Scotsman, 29 January 1862.

settlement of the Trent affair came a certain improvement and an increase in sales to America. Unemployment was somewhat reduced as the St. Leonard's factory resumed full time operations and webs were given out to the handloom weavers. However, the Fife linen trade remained generally dull and the American market poor. Leven and Auchterarder, in particular, were especially affected, and severe unemployment and depression continued in these towns throughout the spring. In Auchterarder, the wages of those who remained employed were described as "miserable", with few weavers making more than 6s. per week. At the same time the building trades had become so stagnant that many of the workers in this field were forced to leave the town. There were brief spurts of improvement in Auchterarder during the summer, but the general depression continued. Between May and October, more /

(1) The largest factory in the town, employing about 1100 workers - MacKay, op.cit., 215.

(2) Scotsman, 6 February 1862.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid, 13 May, 5, 7 June.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid, 25 June, 11 August.

more people emigrated from the town than had left in the previous six years. ⁽¹⁾ During the summer, production fell off again in Dunfermline, although unemployment was somewhat alleviated by the fact that several hundred looms were employed in making cotton tablecloths. However, the production of union goods (half linen and half cotton) was seriously affected by the high price of cotton. At the same time the coal trade was seriously depressed and unable to absorb the unemployed weavers of Fife, as it usually did. ⁽²⁾

During the autumn, the inflated prices of all raw textiles continued to have an adverse effect on the Fife economy, with the handloom weavers, as usual, suffering the most. ⁽³⁾ During the last weeks of the year, Dunfermline was suffering from depression and unemployment to such an extent that several charity groups were forced to start giving aid to the distressed. ⁽⁴⁾ At the same time improvement was setting in in other Fife centres. In Dysart, ⁽⁵⁾ both the power and handloom weavers were doing well, ⁽⁶⁾ and the weaving trade in Auchterarder began to recover.

Conditions /

(1) Scotsman, 10 October 1862.

(2) Ibid, 21 July, 8 August.

(3) Ibid, 18 October.

(4) Ibid, 2 December.

(5) Ibid, 23 October.

(6) Ibid, 3 November, 13, 25 December.

Conditions were generally good in the Fife linen industry during the latter part of the war, due to American military demands and the need for a substitute for cotton.⁽¹⁾

The Scottish wool industry was also influenced by the war, and the Morrill Tariff, although the effect varied in different parts of the country. In the woollen towns of central Scotland, there was severe depression and distress. Alva, for instance, which was almost entirely dependent on the woollen industry, was severely hit. By the autumn of 1862, the mills in the town had almost completely ceased production,⁽²⁾ and the industry in this locality failed to recover its strength in the following years.⁽³⁾ Kinross and Tillicoultry, which were also largely dependent on the wool industry, were severely hit during the early part of the war. By the end of 1862,⁽⁴⁾ the weaving trade in Kinross was "very distressed", and Tillicoultry was suffering from depression and "imminent destitution/

(1) See economic reports in the Scotsman, 1863-5, passim.

(2) Scotsman, 8 December.

(3) Bremner, op.cit., 210-1. Bremner blames the Morrill Tariff for breaking the back of the industry in the town. However, yarn spinning and the manufacture of tweeds continued to some extent - Encyclopedia Britannica, 9th ed., article "Alva".

(4) Scotsman, 2 December 1862.

destitution".⁽¹⁾ Crieff experienced a spell of prosperity during the summer of 1862, with a 20-25% advance in the price of weaving, and the building and other trades shared in the improvement.⁽²⁾ However, by October, the weaving trade in the town was reported to be "deplorable". The unemployed who had been absorbed in the harvesting were returning and the prospects for the winter were "gloomy".⁽³⁾ Conditions remained poor in the town for some months.⁽⁴⁾

In the woollen industry of the Borders, particularly at Hawick and Galashiels, the effect of the war was entirely different. There were no adverse effects from the Morrill Tariff or the Civil War, and the industry prospered and expanded throughout the period.⁽⁵⁾ Speaking at a manufacturers' banquet in Galashiels in October, 1864, Sir William Scott, the local Whig M.P., described the great prosperity of the industry in Southern Scotland and /

(1) Scotsman, 26 December, 1862.

(2) Ibid, 21 July, 8 August 1862.

(3) Ibid, 13 October.

(4) e.g., Ibid, 1, 30 December.

(5) e.g., R. Hall, History of Galashiels, Gala., 1898, p.362.

and attributed it largely to the American war. He maintained that the American use of paper currency had allowed Britain to accumulate gold, which was being used to develop the industrial resources of England and Scotland. Calling for continued friendly commercial relations with America, he opposed all ideas of war with the latter - implying that the continuation of the war would help to maintain local prosperity.⁽¹⁾ It appears that in the Scottish woollen industry, the Civil War accelerated a long range trend. The industry in the Borders prospered because it was more heavily mechanised and capitalised, and organised into larger units, as compared with the industry in Clackmannan and Perthshire. Consequently, the former was able to survive the Morrill tariff, the inflated price of raw textiles, and the initial disorganisation of the American market, and was able to meet subsequent American demands arising out of the war situation. The reverse was true of the industry in Central Scotland, where there were less capital reserves and a greater proportion of handloom weavers.⁽²⁾

The /

(1) Scotsman, 8 October 1864.

(2) This is the general picture one forms from the sources mentioned in the chapter - particularly Hall, op.cit., Bremner, op.cit., MacKay, op.cit., and the weekly economic reports in the Scotsman. Further research into conditions in the various individual towns might bring certain modifications, but would, I think, substantiate these generalisations. See also articles on "Linen", "Wool", "Fife", "Clackmannan", "Kinross", "Dunfermline", "Crieff", "Alva", et al., Encyclopedia Britannica, 9th ed.

The depression of 1862 was aggravated in parts of Scotland by increases in rents and in the price of food. The latter was due in part to the uncertainty of the American supply and to the fact that the Scottish potato crop failed in 1861.⁽¹⁾ Wheat had been cheap up until the time of the Trent crisis, when the price rose from one to two shillings a quarter.⁽²⁾ In the following February it was reported from Leith that rents had increased as much as 30%.⁽³⁾ Leith suffered severely from depression and unemployment, particularly in the docks and the building trades, during the first winter of the war.⁽⁴⁾ Improvement set in during the second year of the war as large orders came in for rope and sails.⁽⁵⁾ Another town severely hit by the 1862 depression was Berwick, which, at the end of the year, was suffering from the combined effects of the cotton famine and a poor harvest. The shops were affected, and unemployment and part time were widespread, particularly in the iron /

(1) Scotsman, 21 October 1861, 7 November.

(2) Glasgow Herald, quoted in Scotsman, 30 November.

(3) Scotsman, 10 February 1862.

(4) Scotsman, dates cited above - also 24 March 1862.

(5) Ibid, 3 May, 24 June.

iron works. ⁽¹⁾ In the nearby town of Coldingham the local cotton industry was wiped out by the famine. ⁽²⁾ The Civil War had one further effect on the Scottish economy in that it accelerated the decline of tambouring, a type of hand embroidery of textile goods carried on by women in the home. The industry had been a quite important one in Scotland and in 1856 had had a gross value of about a million pounds. However, "by 1861 it had fallen to one third by reason of the glut of 1856-59, the American War, and the fickleness of feminine fashion", and the war ⁽³⁾ caused further deterioration.

In general, the impact of the Civil War on Scotland illustrates how closely the Scottish and American economies had become interlocked. The long term effect of the struggle was to encourage the increasing concentration of Scottish enterprise on the heavy industries of Scotland at the expense of the lighter ones, in particular the manufacture of cotton. Hamilton justly compares the effect of the Civil War on Scotland with that of the American Revolution - the cotton famine, for instance, being analagous /

(1) Scotsman, December 1862, passim.

(2) Golf Bazaar Guide to Coldingham and St. Abbs, (n.d.), p.7.

(3) Marwick, op.cit., 124.

analagous to the blow to the tobacco trade suffered in the earlier war. In both cases a serious economic reverse was followed by energetic developments in new⁽¹⁾ directions.

(1) See Hamilton, op.cit., 9-11, 149, 191; D. Fagerstrom, Scotland and the American Revolution, (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University).

CHAPTER V

The Trent Affair and the Intervention Question

In November, 1861, a diplomatic incident in the Caribbean brought the London and Washington Governments to the verge of war. The British mail steamer Trent, which was carrying the Confederate Commissioners Mason and Slidell, was stopped by the American warship San Jacinto under the command of Captain Wilkes, U.S.N., who seized the Rebel Commissioners. Thus began another chapter in the history of the controversy over the right of maritime search and seizure.

When the first news of the incident reached Scotland on 28 November, the Scotsman warned of its seriousness and interpreted it as meaning that America was determined to
(1)
provoke a rupture with Britain. The Caledonian Mercury described the resentment produced by Captain Wilkes' act and declared that it was a great stroke of luck for the Confederates, whose hopes of foreign intervention were now greatly increased. "It gives immense strength," declared the Mercury, "to the party in this country that has all along been seeking a pretext to break the blockade. A quarrel with the Federal Government would enable the British shipping /

(1) Scotsman, 28 November, 1861.

shipping interest and British merchants generally to get into their hands the whole trade of the South. We may expect, therefore, that every effort will be made to fan hostile feelings into flames." The paper went on to warn its readers that besides genuine indignation at the incident there would be many hypocritical professions by special interests who wished to stir up trouble. The Mercury urged further that Britain must proceed very cautiously in the matter since she had often abused the right of search in the past.⁽¹⁾ However, even the Mercury was for a time swept away in the general outburst against America, for the following day it declared: "It is clearly certain that the American Government must apologise and give up Messrs. Slidell and Mason, otherwise severe chastisement will be the consequence....The public voice is unanimous in that an outrage has been committed....and there will be few complaints if the reparation demanded is ample.⁽²⁾ Britain was never better prepared for an emergency".

A day or so later, Russell sent an ultimatum to Washington, demanding the release of Mason and Slidell. The Mercury expressed the opinion that if war resulted it would be /

(1) Cal. Mercury, 29 November.

(2) Ibid, 30 November.

be supported with enthusiasm. ⁽¹⁾ "An amicable settlement of the present difficulty," declared the Radical organ, "should that happily take place, will not, however, affect the sympathy of this country with the Northern cause; for the blustering conduct of its representatives, from Mr. Seward down, has fairly separated the British people from the slightest interest in movements of its army on the Potomac or elsewhere". ⁽²⁾

The Scotsman expressed the belief that the American Government had ordered the seizure and asserted that: "The public has warmly and resolutely ⁽³⁾ called for the vindication of the national honour".

The Courant described the Trent case as the work of "a half-civilized democracy, infuriated by savage passions," and declared that Lincoln must apologise or have a war. The same editorial, however, urged public restraint on the ⁽⁴⁾ ground that the issue was a matter of law, not of passion. On the following day the Tory organ claimed that America was definitely in the wrong and averred that Britain had already suffered too much at the hands of America. Although confident /

(1) Cal. Mercury, 2 December. This article refers to the fact that the N.Y. Herald was calling for war. The Herald was frequently quoted in the Scottish press during the affair.

(2) Ibid, 2 December.

(3) Scotsman, 2 December 1861.

(4) Courant, 28 November. ("Courant" refers throughout to the Edinburgh Evening Courant).

confident of victory in case of war, the Courant expressed its hopes for peace: "We are heartily pacific - especially we Conservatives, whose interest is that nothing shall divert Europe from the instructive spectacle to be seen in the great cockpit of Democracy".⁽¹⁾ In the following week the editorials of the Courant took on an increasingly belligerent note. On the 30th, the paper predicted that hostilities were probable and that "Joined with the Confederates we shall positively annihilate the North".⁽²⁾ Two days later an article described the Trent affair as "virtually an act of lynching....We must have our pound of flesh - and if any blood is spilled in the cutting of it, the responsibility is theirs not ours".⁽³⁾ During the following days the Courant expressed strong doubts that America would comply with Russell's ultimatum.⁽⁴⁾

A subsequent letter from Bourke to Blackwood reveals a minor but interesting sidelight in connection with the despatch of Russell's note on the Trent. Bourke, writing about the note with the air of one having considerable confidential /

(1) Courant, 29 November.

(2) Ibid, 30 November.

(3) Ibid, 2 December.

(4) e.g., Ibid, 3 December, 4 December.

confidential information concerning it, claimed to have received information that the case had been put on the technical infraction of international law, and declared, "This could lead the matter to great complications and disaster". Bourke himself believed that the note should have been based "on the single point of insult to our flag". Bourke declared that he had been informed that the original note, as drafted by Russell, "was...all that could be wished. After this Cobden made his appearance at Downing Street and through Milner Gibson managed to have the views of the Manchester School brought forward. The document was thus very much altered, and I hear from persons (1) who have seen it that it is very milk and water indeed".

In point of fact, Russell's original draft of the note had been extremely bellicose, although it was actually the Prince Consort who had rewritten it in more moderate tones, and thus probably averted war. (2) The story of Cobden's intervention gives an idea of the sort of rumours that were flying about at the time, particularly in Tory circles. The rumour sprang from some indirect influence that Cobden or his associates were bringing to bear at the time /

(1) Bourke-Blackwood, 5 December.

(2) See H. Bolitho, Albert the Good, London, 1932, p. 282. It should be remembered that Russell and Gladstone, two of the most "liberal" members of the Palmerston Government, leaned strongly towards an interventionist policy, whereas Palmerston (like Disraeli) was, on the whole, a restraining influence.

time. Reference has already been made to Claussen's thesis that the bankers and capitalists on both sides of the Atlantic were chiefly instrumental in preserving the peace throughout the war. Claussen declares that there was a general commercial panic in America at the time of the Trent affair, and that as a result, American business men brought pressure to bear on the American Government to accept Russell's ultimatum. He also asserts that the majority of British capitalists followed Cobden and Bright in working for peace in order to protect the merchant navy, the American market, and commercial prosperity in general. Whether the majority of capitalists followed Cobden and Bright in this manner is open to doubt. The Mercury warned that the British merchant class in general and the shipping interest in particular were anxious to wrest the Southern trade from the North, and that there were thus (1) powerful interests ready to stir up trouble with America. Reporting to Seward at the time of the crisis, the American consul in Glasgow declared that a rupture with America was being sought not only by the aristocracy who feared that a successful democracy in America would encourage the masses to Radicalism at home, but also by powerful commercial interests /

(1) Cal. Mercury, 29 November 1861.

interests seeking new markets in the southern states.

He drew an analogy with the economic and political penetration of India and China, with particular reference to the Opium Wars, and declared, "In case of the success of the Rebellion, the free states would manufacture an ample supply for their own wants, while the South would be almost wholly dependent upon others; and this country could supply them cheaper goods, perhaps, than any others".⁽¹⁾

The consul probably had in mind the pro-Confederate leaning of shipbuilding and trading circles in Glasgow. However, the panic induced by the Trent affair extended to Clydeside, for Prettyman reported that: "Commercial business here is now almost at a standstill in consequence of the threatening attitude of this country against our own". The crisis also alarmed the many holders of American securities. For example, the family of Sir David Wedderburn,⁽²⁾ most of whose money was invested in State bonds, were seriously straitened at this time as the interest on their bonds fell to one-third, and there was a fear, played upon by interested parties,⁽³⁾ of complete repudiation.⁽⁴⁾

The /

(1) Prettyman-Seward, 31 Dec. 1861. In the same despatch, Prettyman asserted that the mass of people were opposed to war with America.

(2) Elected Liberal M.P. for South Ayrshire in 1868.

(3) vid. A.E. Taylor, "Walker's Mission to London, 1863-64", Journal of Economic and Business History, III, (1931), 296-320.

(4) E.H. Percival, Sir David Wedderburn, London, 1884, pp. 30-1.

The Blackwood's circle were also highly concerned over the current rumours that American State and Federal bonds might be repudiated. Baron Bourke raged against the Americans in a letter to Blackwood and asserted: "Their dishonesty is one of the most disgusting traits in the national character...Cheating friends is thought to be good business".⁽¹⁾

Throughout the crisis the Tory Courant took great pains to impress upon its readers the desperate condition of American finances.⁽²⁾

The suspension of specie payments by the American Government and the issue of paper money was regarded in Scottish business circles as a harebrained expedient and an omen of approaching collapse. The N.B. Daily Mail predicted that the step would bring the war to a quick end, since the Federal war effort could not survive on paper money.⁽³⁾

Arguing from the principles of classical economies, the Mail asserted that, although America possessed great natural resources, these could not be made financially available in an emergency, and added: "We do not hesitate to regard the paper money scheme as but the beginning of the end".⁽⁴⁾

At /

- (1) Bourke-Blackwood, 28 November 1861 (Blackwood Papers).
- (2) e.g. Courant, 21 December.
- (3) N.B.D.M., 17 January 1862.
- (4) Ibid, 18 January.

At this juncture Bright and Cobden spoke out strongly for moderation and for settlement of the dispute by arbitration rather than war. This Radical counter-offensive angered the jingoists in Scotland. Denouncing Bright for defending America over the Trent, the Courant accused him of attempting to undermine the British Constitution and compared his present stand with his alleged (1) pro-Russian attitude during the Crimean War.

The Courant continued to comment along these lines throughout the period of crisis. After abusing Thomas Hughes, who had presumed to criticise the press treatment of the affair, (2) the Tory organ resumed its attacks on Bright.

"No speaker or writer, indeed, has hit at America as savagely as Mr. Bright hit at Great Britain....And luckily the Bright school have not succeeded in destroying in the people a feeling that 'to insult the British flag is to insult the British individual'. Cosmopolitanism and the worship of the ledger have not yet gone so far as that; and it would be worth even a war or two to keep these disagreeable tendencies in proper check." (3)

The /

(1) Courant, 7 December 1861.

(2) Ibid, 11 December.

(3) Ibid, 13 December.

The Scotsman also devoted several editorials to denouncing those who spoke in favour of the maintenance of peace. The Scotsman declared that these efforts only encouraged American high-handedness and asserted that the same "conceited and short-sighted peace-mongers" had
(1)
encouraged Russia in 1854.

The North British Daily Mail, although it had previously supported the Union cause, took a strong stand against America over the Trent case. The Mail praised: "The decided and energetic action of our Government in the matter, showing that they are fully alive to the dignity and honour of the country over whose interests they preside, and that that honour and dignity shall not be insulted with impunity...Even the blustering rowdiness of the New York press would seem to be cowed when a reasonable demand for unendurable wrong is backed up by the convincing arguments of Armstrong guns and British bayonets." The Mail, reflecting its imperial preoccupations, praised the loyalty of Canada and the other colonies and declared
(2)
that they would support Britain in any emergency.

Even the Protestant Glasgow Examiner was swept away by the war hysteria, although it was, of all the Glasgow papers /

(1) Scotsman, 4 December.

(2) NBDM, 2 January 1862.

papers, the one most consistently sympathetic to the Union cause. This paper declared that there was an imminent threat of war and attacked Bright and Cobden as "the only members ready to sell the honour of their country for cotton or peace". At the same time the Examiner referred to the increase in naval armaments motivated by the crisis and enquired "whether any orders have reached our Clyde shipbuilders".⁽¹⁾ The Examiner also lamented the low state of the Parliamentary Reform movement, and attributed its condition to the outbreak of the American war and latterly to the Trent affair and the possibility of hostilities with America - a topic which the Examiner declared "fills the minds of the people to the exclusion of everything else".⁽¹⁾

The Caledonian Mercury, however, responded favourably to Bright's call for peace with America. It devoted considerable space to his Rochdale speech and expressed its complete agreement. The Mercury expressed particular agreement with the section of Bright's speech in which he compared the current situation with the period during which Britain drifted into the Crimean War. "Mr. Bright will /

(1) Glasgow Examiner, 14 December.

will no doubt be assailed now as he was then with the foulest reproaches which the war at any price party can gather together.....War, without a doubt, is one of the greatest calamities that can afflict a nation - war with any enemy, or for any object - and it ought to be the last resort ever dreamed of by any people who profess to be beyond a state of barbarism." War with America would be particularly disastrous, declared the Mercury, because of the close ties between the two countries. The Mercury affirmed its belief that America was in the wrong, but added that even if she failed to comply with Russell's demands - "we confess that, notwithstanding, we shrink from the idea of going to war with them as if it were a great national crime. Can Christian men on either side suggest no fitter or better tribunal than the sword?".... The Mercury urged that should America turn down the ultimatum the matter should be submitted to "an international court of competent jurists.....If war is ever to cease and a better system of settling international disputes to arise, there must be a beginning made and an example given. If so, what two nations are more favourably situated than Britain and the United States for setting the example? They speak the same language, they profess the same faith, they /

they draw their inspiration from a common law and literature; the younger nation has sprung as it were from the loins of the elder, and if they cannot adjust their differences without fighting, it is vain to expect nations less closely allied or less favoured with Christian light so to act. We observe that there is a tendency already manifested by a certain heartless portion of the press to sneer at those organs which contend for peace as if they were speaking treason. No course can be more cowardly than thus to try to bully down those whose courage in contending for the only true Christian mode of adjusting differences is worthy of all praise." The Mercury added that in view of the extensive emigration to America a conflict with that country would be something in the nature of a civil war. "In a battle the children of Scotchmen and Englishmen would be ranged under either flag, relations in all probability as in the case of the civil war in the States fighting opposite sides. The victors in the conflict might hear the cry for quarter from wounded men uttered in the rich Doric of their own country at home....⁽¹⁾ It becomes every man to do what he can for peace."

Throughout the affair, the Mercury repeatedly denounced what /

(1) Cal. Mer., 6 December 1861.

what it regarded as the mischievous conduct of most of the press in stirring up war feelings and sympathy for the Confederacy. When Jefferson Davis' first "annual message" to the Rebel congress received favourable press comments, the Mercury declared that a few months previously no one would have thought that the British press would be eulogising the leader of an attempt to set up a slave empire. The Mercury proceeded to rebut the main points of Davis' speech. To Davis' claim that the Rebels were fighting for freedom, the Radical paper replied that it was only for the freedom of a minority of ruling-class whites to exploit the slaves. It answered Davis' claim that the North was the aggressor, by asserting that it was the slaveholders who had turned to violence when their political power was curtailed by the legal victory of the Republicans. "The foundation stone of the Confederacy," declared the Mercury - echoing the forthright pro-slavery statement of the Confederate Vice-President - "is that black men are born to be slaves, and white men to lord it over them without let or hindrance." The paper pointed out that if the "war-at-any-price men" succeeded in provoking a war over the Trent affair it would involve British recognition of and alliance with the Confederacy and an end to the hopes of the slaves. "It /

"It is worthy of mention, however," the Mercury added, "that none of our loud brawlers for war, none of the editors, Members of Parliament, or cotton brokers propose to sacrifice their own lives in this contest. Somehow they always calculate on some others volunteering for this department." In conclusion the Mercury expressed the hope that thousands of lives would not be sacrificed "to bind the fetters on the slaves of the South, whose day of deliverance, if we prevent not, is fast approaching."⁽¹⁾

The Scottish Abolitionists were deeply disturbed at the thought of war with America, and its inevitable corollary of British aid to the Confederates. Eliza Wigham blamed the anti-British chauvinism current in the North for the Trent affair, which she described as "an outrage on liberty".⁽²⁾ However, the Scottish Abolitionists were resolutely opposed to war with America, which would immensely strengthen the prospects of the Rebellion.

The initial wave of feeling in Scotland upon the reception of the news of the Trent affair was extremely intense. An American visiting Edinburgh at the time reported: "I have never seen so intense a feeling of indignation /

(1) Cal. Mer., 10 December 1861.

(2) E. Wigham-S. May, Jnr., 5 December 1861.

indignation exhibited in all my life. It pervades all classes and may make itself heard above the wiser theories of the Cabinet officers."⁽¹⁾

Once the initial shock was over, the peace forces, led by the Caledonian Mercury, began to rally. On 12 December, the day on which the American Government was expected to receive Russell's note, a large prayer meeting for peace with America was held in the Free Church Assembly Hall, presided over by a number of leading Radicals and Free Churchmen, including Dr. Candlish.⁽²⁾ The presence of the latter indicates that the Free Church was actively seeking good relations with America at this moment, and was particularly active in helping American missions, in India and elsewhere, which were in straitened circumstances due to the war. For instance, throughout 1861, the Free Church Record repeatedly praised the American missionary efforts, for continuing undiminished in spite of the war.

The Scottish Free Church in Bombay, for instance, contributed /

(1) Quoted by C. F. Adams - The Trent Affair, UPMHA, 1861-1862, XLV, 43, f.n.

(2) Scotsman, 13 Dec. 1861. Besides Dr. Candlish, the leaders of the meeting were: W.C. Anderson (Major-General in Artillery), J.H. Balfour, Charles Brown, G.D. Cullen, Wm. Glover, D.T.K. Drummond, Robert Haldane, Js. Peddie, George Johnston. There were no speeches made at this meeting.

contributed largely to the American mission in the city, and the American missionary exchanged pulpits with the Reverend J. E. Carlile, who, according to the American, "delivered a most able and impressive discourse, in which he gave a very correct view of the present state of America and the questions to be solved there."⁽¹⁾

At the same time the Mercury gave great space, not only to the Edinburgh prayer meeting for peace, but also to an address to the Government from the Peace Society and to prayer meetings for peace which were being held all over the country.⁽²⁾ On the thirteenth the effort was followed up by the Radicals at a meeting of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce where David MacLaren offered a resolution opposing war and calling for mediation. The proposal was supported by Duncan MacLaren, who, however, made a reservation that America was in the wrong in the matter.⁽³⁾ The resolution was rejected by the Chamber.

In Glasgow the Emancipation Society itself took the lead in the campaign for peace. They organised a large rally in the City Hall on 12 December and selected as their /

(1) Free Church Record, 1861, p.101.

(2) Cal.Mer., 12 Dec.; the same issue contains a leader supporting the peace campaign.

(3) Ibid, 14 December.

their principal speaker Peter Sinclair, a leading pro-Federal orator.⁽¹⁾ The Reverend David Johnstone was in the chair, and on the platform were the Reverend Fergus Ferguson (a radical Free Church minister), Councillor Thompson, and the leaders of the Emancipation Society, William Smeal, Andrew Paton, John Knox, and J. W. Weir. Sinclair gave "a most interesting and eloquent" speech⁽²⁾ lasting for nearly two hours and was frequently applauded. He had spent a considerable time in America and in his address made use of his personal experience in both the northern and the southern states. After praising the American educational system which he maintained was better than the British, he described the degradation of the slaves and the tyranny of the slave holders. Defending Lincoln and Seward from the persistent abuse to which they had been subjected, Sinclair declared that both of them were thorough-going Abolitionists and supporters of freedom generally. He also attacked the prevalent belief that the war had its origins in the tariff question, and maintained that slavery was the basic cause of the conflict. He /

(1) Peter Sinclair was also head of the international agency of the American Emigration Co., an organisation, backed by American manufacturers, which was engaged in enticing British skilled labour, particularly cotton and iron workers and miners, to emigrate to America - C. Erikson, "Encouragement of Emigration by British Trade Unions", Population Studies, III, (1949-50), 260, f.n.1.

(2) GES Minute Books, 12 Dec. 1861.

He affirmed his belief that before long the American Government "would boldly declare the freedom of the slave and his right to equal privileges with his fellow men". On the question of the Trent he maintained that America had not intended to insult Britain "but on the contrary was always anxious to keep on friendly relations with this country". He concluded by expressing his hope that America would comply with Russell's note and that the British Government "would not lend her help to rivet more closely the fetters of the slave".⁽¹⁾

At the conclusion of the speech, the Reverend Fergus Ferguson moved two resolutions. The first stated:

"As friends to the universal abolition of slavery, who have at all times sympathised with the advocates of imperial liberty in the United States of America, we express the deepest sympathy with them at this time of severe trial; and we earnestly entreat the citizens of the Federal States, agreeably to the principles set forth in the Declaration of American Independence, to concede the just claims of four millions of people held in bondage in the Southern States and now proclaim them free."

The second deplored the Civil War and urged that "wisdom, forbearance, and a just appreciation of natural rights /

(1) NBDM, 13 Dec. 1861. According to this report the lecture was listened to with great attention and was frequently applauded.

rights may be given to the Governments of Great Britain and America, so that friendly relations may continue to subsist between nations so identified by lineage and language and by whom so much may be accomplished for the advancement of the best interests of mankind."

The motions were seconded by John Knox, a leading Glasgow Abolitionist, and passed by the assembly.⁽¹⁾ The forthright pro-Union stand taken by the Glasgow Emancipation Society is in interesting contrast to the hesitant attitude of the Edinburgh Society which had so far failed to adopt the new pro-Union policy of Garrison and his followers in America.

Another prominent ecclesiastical figure who spoke out for peace during the crisis was the Reverend Cumming, minister of the Scottish Church in London. In his New Year address he declared roundly that the American conflict was caused by slavery and that it would lead to good results. He attacked the idea of going to war over the Trent and went on to describe the people of the northern states as Christian and enlightened and urged that no heed be paid to the few irresponsible voices among them.⁽²⁾

Not /

(1) GES Minute Books, loc.cit.

(2) Scotsman, 4 January 1862.

Not all the liberal forces, however, were enlisted in this peace effort. As we have seen, some Liberals supported the Confederacy on nationalist grounds, but the Civil War was also the occasion for certain erratic Radicals to switch over^{to} positions of political reaction. Roebuck, the leader of the pro-Confederate Interventionist party of the House, was the prototype of this group. Miller, the Liberal M.P. for Leith,⁽¹⁾ was another example. Miller had backed a number of Liberal measures in the past and had received strong support from the Caledonian Mercury. However, he now adopted a jingoistic stand in regard to the Trent affair, and at a Liberal meeting in Leith he spoke out in favour of the Rebels,⁽²⁾ declaring that the slaves would have more chance of emancipation under an independent Confederacy and complaining of the Morrill Tariff and other "hardships" inflicted on the South by the North. In the course of the same speech he urged that the Volunteers - the militia which had been organised several years previously - should be used primarily against what he called "the Chartists". He was immediately answered in the press by one of his former Liberal supporters, who declared /

(1) This suggests the pro-Confederate influence of the ship-building interests - as in Glasgow - see chapter two.

(2) Cal. Mer., 13 December 1861.

declared: "Melancholy it is to relate that he is the first public man in the country who has openly expressed himself in favour of the revolted states".⁽¹⁾ The writer attacked the suggestion that the slaves would be better off under an independent Confederacy. "Repudiating as I do those (pro-Unionist) views of Mr. Bright I regard those of the M.P. of Leith as dangerous and fatal to liberty in general". He ridiculed the plea that the southern states had suffered hardships under the Union, and declared that after dominating America for half a century, they had then started the war after their candidates had been legally defeated in an election. The tariff, the writer maintained, was irrelevant; "they seceded in order to gain less liberty and perpetuate slavery." He admitted, however, that it might become necessary to recognise the Confederacy as having established itself, but that it should only be considered a necessary evil, and, he hoped, a passing and temporary one like the second Empire. In conclusion he ridiculed the suggestion for turning the Volunteers into an anti-⁽²⁾ Chartist army and declared that Chartism was dead.

The war fever continued for some days. On the 21st the /

(1) Cal. Mer., 13 Dec. 1861; see also Scotsman, 21 April 1865.

(2) Ibid.

the Glasgow Examiner, under the headline "Will there be War over America?", declared that this question had been uppermost in the public mind for the past week. The Examiner concluded that the issue was still in doubt, but asserted that "there is now almost a wish that there might be war. The Yankees are greatly needing a sound drubbing and are in the fair way to get it between two fires as they soon will be."⁽¹⁾ On the 14th the Courant demanded that, in view of the fact that war with America was imminent, Russell, Cornwall Lewis (War Office), and the Duke of Somerset should be dismissed from office and replaced by "stronger" men. The article, however, expressed confidence that Palmerston would "uphold national honour".⁽²⁾ On receipt of Lincoln's statement calling for moderation and predicting that there would be no war unless Britain were seeking a pretext, the Courant declared: "We confess we see more cunning than innocent self-reliance here," and professed to believe that this was merely a manoeuvre on Lincoln's part to put himself in the rightⁿ preparation for war. It maintained that Lincoln was currying favour with the mob in preparation for rejecting Russell's note. "His /

(1) Glas. Examiner, 21 December.

(2) Courant, 14 December.

"His is after all a policy of desperation," declared the Courant, "but it is a very natural policy for an incapable government in such a position as Mr. Lincoln's". The paper pointed out that even if Lincoln were set on a policy of complying with Russell's note, he would have to put it into effect in the teeth, not only of the "mob", but of Congress and the Navy Department, both of which had officially approved of Wilkes' action.⁽¹⁾

The Tory organ subsequently returned to the attack on Russell and other Cabinet members which it regarded as too weak. Russell in particular was accused of being incompetent for his post and "inexpressably ludicrous" in his failure to take a stronger stand against America.⁽²⁾ Several days later, after eulogising Palmerston's leadership qualities, the Courant again attacked Russell, Lewis, and Somerset, and this time added Gladstone to its list of undesirable Cabinet members - chiefly on the grounds of his "reckless and dangerous" financial policy.⁽³⁾

Alexander Russel, the editor of the Scotsman, was close /

(1) Courant, 20 December.

(2) Courant, 21 December.

(3) Ibid, 30 December.

close to the Palmerston Government throughout the period of the war (as was Delane of the Times) and this was especially true during the time of the Trent crisis when the Scotsman reflected the views of the ministry quite closely. At least one article was directly inspired by Palmerston himself.⁽¹⁾

On the 25th the Scotsman speculated at length on the awaited American reply and decided that there was not much to be hoped from it if Seward and his circle had much to say in the framing of it, in view of their previous hostility towards Europe.⁽²⁾ On the following day the paper discussed the commercial panic which the crisis had caused in America and declared that business circles there might act as a restraining influence, although the recklessness of Seward and the passions of the mob might nullify their efforts. It reported that Government circles in London were expecting a war, although it also mentioned that a number of Americans in Britain were predicting that Washington would yield. An American refusal or evasion of Russell's note would lead to an immediate breach, the Scotsman declared, although hostilities might be postponed until Parliament reassembled. In connection with reports of /

(1) See History of the Times, II, 383, f.n.1; JPMHA, XLV, 112-113, (Henry Adams-E. Everett, 27 Dec. 1861).

(2) Scotsman, 25 December.

of further American demonstrations in favour of Captain Wilkes, the paper maintained that the participants were⁽¹⁾ really celebrating the insult to the British flag.

On the 31st, in a resume of the first year of the war, the Courant declared: "The spectacle there has been at once newer and richer in promise of great moral lessons than that presented to us anywhere else." The Courant now came out strongly in favour of the Confederacy, and praised the Rebels for bringing on the crisis with "ingenuity, decision and aptitude". The Courant went on to attack American "insolence" and declared that the British stand on the Trent "affords gratifying proof that the Manchester School has been less successful in demoralising the popular mind than might have been feared."⁽²⁾ However, the popular outburst against America had begun to subside before the end of the month, and the American consul in Glasgow reported at the end of the year that the⁽³⁾ mass of the people were for peace.

The Trent affair was eagerly taken up by the Scottish reviews. Although the December edition of Blackwood's came /

(1) Scotsman, 26 December 1861.

(2) Courant, 31 December.

(3) Prettyman-Seward, 31 December 1861.

came out before news of the Trent reached Scotland, the issue contained an important article entitled "A Month with the Rebels" by Baron Bourke of Connemara, an Irish landlord, who had travelled through the South in the first autumn of the war. It was the first of a series of articles in the Maga by upper class pro-Confederate visitors to the Confederacy. All of these articles gave highly coloured pictures of a heroic Southern aristocracy united in the determination to throw off the yoke of the Northern mob. These accounts were also all filled with assurances that the Rebels could never be subdued, and thus lent great support to the efforts to induce Government intervention to halt the war.

Through the good offices of Sir James Ferguson, Tory M.P. for Ayrshire and a member of the extreme pro-Confederate party in Parliament, Blackwood established contact with Bourke and persuaded him to write up his visit for the Maga. Bourke, who was in close touch at the time with Dudley Mann, the Confederate representative, proceeded to write an extremely pro-Confederate and anti-American article, giving a full recitation of such Southern grievances as the Morrill Tariff and the growing threat of Abolitionism. The South was pictured as unanimously behind /

behind the Rebellion and the Border States as rife with Secession feeling. Touching vignettes were included of self-sacrificing Southern womanhood, busily sewing for the troops in the field. The North, on the other hand, was dominated by a "raging democracy", which had imprisoned all the best elements, as Bourke described the Southern sympathisers. After lamenting for "genius, virtue and integrity, now languishing in Fort La Fayette", the Baron predicted that they would eventually emerge to rule what was left of the North after the war.⁽¹⁾ Baron Bourke wrote another belligerent article for the January edition of Blackwood's, in which he dilated upon "the probability of war with the Northern States of America".⁽²⁾ E. B. Hamley, one of Blackwood's leading contributors, also wrote another article for the January issue entitled "The Convulsions of America", which was probably the most violent of all the Blackwood's articles dealing with America during the Civil War. Hamley wrote in terms fiercely hostile to America and strongly sympathised with the Rebels. Denouncing those in Britain who felt regret over the war, he declared that it was the best thing for America as it would wipe out /

(1) Blackwood's Magazine, XL, 755 et seq. (Dec. 1861); Bourke-Blackwood, 19 October 1861; Ibid, n.d., (end of October?).

(2) Blackwood's, XLI, 102 et seq.

out democracy there. He urged Britain to make war on America over the Trent and to disregard any American attempt at reparation.⁽¹⁾

Blackwood's articles during this period contributed immensely to the tension between Britain and America and did much to stimulate anti-British feeling in America, much to the delight of the pro-Confederates. Blackwood and his friends, in collaboration with Dudley Mann, the Confederate representative, arranged for special shipments of the publication to America in order to encourage the Rebels and their Northern sympathisers.⁽²⁾ Hamley's article calling for war over the Trent created particular havoc, and was objected to by the American Government. The Blackwood's circle regarded their work with the irresponsible hilarity of mischievous schoolboys; Baron Bourke, for instance, referring to Hamley's article, and the American reaction, remarked: "I hope it has given Mr. Seward the stomach-ache".⁽³⁾ Even the American Abolitionists were strongly influenced by the Blackwood's articles, which /

(1) Blackwood's, XLI, 118-30.

(2) Bourke-Blackwood, 26 Nov. 1861; Ibid, 28 Nov.

(3) Bourke-Blackwood, dated only "Thursday". Internal evidence indicates the letter was written in the early spring of 1862.

which for a time helped to deepen the rift between the American Anti-Slavery Society and the Edinburgh Emancipationists. Writing to America Eliza Wigham denounced the magazine and pleaded with her American colleagues not to accept the articles as representative of Scottish opinion. "No wonder thy newspapers were exasperated when they read such articles," wrote Miss Wigham, "but do not think our own friends would do more than glance them over and cast them aside. I hope thou wilt not in future accept such things as exponents of British feeling."⁽¹⁾

The North British Review declared that there was an imminent threat of war and criticised the conduct of America, although it expressed the hope that America would be reasonable and that there would be no war.⁽²⁾ The magazine shared the widespread belief that Lincoln and Seward would not have the courage or strength to return the Commissioners in the face of the chauvinist passions of the Northern masses /

(1) E. Wigham-Saml. May, Jr., 28 March 1862. James Spence attempted to persuade Blackwood to accept an article by himself attacking Bright's appeal at Rochdale for a peaceful settlement of the Trent affair. In spite of Spence's promise to write in "a spirited yet polite tone and with what one might term a telling style," the offer came to nought. (Spence-Blackwood, 11 Dec. 1861). Although he later accepted an article from Spence, Blackwood's relations with the arch-Confederate apologist always remained cool. Spence's parvenue background and his flirtations with the pro-Confederate section of the Liberals probably prejudiced him in the eyes of the Edinburgh Tories. (See Spence-Blackwood correspondence in the Blackwood papers).

(2) No. Brit. Rev., LXV, 129-34 (Jan. 1862). This periodical was Free Church-Liberal in outlook.

masses. "Their domestic embarrassments.....may convince every Federalist whose senses have not yet forsaken him that it is useless to persist; but the President and his Minister will no less be ruined men; and we must be prepared for any and all attempts to evade the difficulty."⁽¹⁾

After a detailed analysis of the case the N.B.Review came to the conclusion that it was an example of America's calculated hostility toward Britain and that America was looking forward to an eventual clash. The article, however, attacked slavery and expressed abhorrence of the idea of fighting in alliance with the Confederacy.

Discussing the legal implications of the blockade, the Edinburgh Review concluded that it was of doubtful legality. The American action over the Trent was also attacked and the writer declared that Mason and Slidell were protected by the British flag and in any case were of the status of envoy. The writer went on to criticise the whole policy of searching neutral vessels, attacked America for not holding to the Declaration of Paris in this matter, and attempted to argue that the right of search had somehow lapsed in the course of the fifty years since the Napoleonic Wars. At any rate, the article argued, since Britain /

(1) No.Brit.Rev., LXV, 129.

Britain was the greatest maritime power, it must be her policy to confine these rights within strict limits. (1)

In the early days of the new year the supporters of peace continued their efforts to smooth relations with America. One opponent of war called for international arbitration of the Trent question, and stressed the absurdity of going into a war which would not settle the dispute in question. The same person criticised the Scotsman for opposing arbitration although he admitted that the American Government was "reckless and unprincipled" and that the Americans were in the wrong in the affair. (2)

The N.B. Daily Mail immediately credited the first reports of America's conciliatory attitude and explained that Lincoln and his Cabinet had had to wait until popular passions had died down and that they were now ready to make "every reasonable concession". The Mail went on to speculate what effects a settlement would have on British industry and trade and observed that if Britain remained neutral "the Civil War must go on for a long time". (3)

The /

(1) Edinburgh Review, LXV, 258 et seq. The article discussed several books on belligerent and neutral rights, including The Law of Nations considered as Independent Political Communities, by Travers Twiss, and Two Lectures on the Present American War, by Mountague Bernard.

(2) Scotsman, 4 Jan. 1862 - letter to the editor.

(3) N.B. Daily Mail, 4 Jan.

The Mail predicted that the cotton supply would run out and then a demand would arise for the breaking of the blockade. The Mail opposed such intervention, which, it declared, would lead to war with America and would in the end probably not result in getting much cotton. The correct alternative, the paper declared, was to develop cotton culture in India and elsewhere and thus end the dependance on America.⁽¹⁾ In commenting further on the subsidence of war feeling in America, the Mail observed that some Americans wished to settle accounts with Britain at the conclusion of the Civil War. The Mail produced two quotations from the New York Herald calling for the confiscation of British property and mentioned rumours⁽²⁾ that the Administration was behind this suggestion. Two days later the Mail announced that the American Union must be spoken of in the past tense, and that the American combatants were now fighting as separate nations rather than as factions within one state.⁽³⁾ However, the paper continued to defend the American Government, as distinct from the press and the "mob".⁽⁴⁾

With /

(1) NBDM, 4 January.

(2) Ibid, 6 January.

(3) Ibid, 8 January.

(4) e.g., Ibid, 9 January.

With the opening of the new year came news that American public opinion was becoming calmer. The Mercury gave considerable space to these reports and rejoiced that even the New York Herald now urged the return of Mason and Slidell. The Mercury attacked the activities of the chauvinist elements in both countries, and especially in Britain.....the American rejoicing over the seizure was understandable, the Mercury held, in view of the war situation and the volatile nature of the American character; the Americans did not intend a calculated insult to Britain, and now that their exuberance had died down they were (1) willing to be reasonable and peaceful.

The Mercury also issued a long blast against the Times for the part which it had played in whipping up war hysteria, especially in the light of its most recent comment calling for an understanding with America only after the war feeling had begun to die down. Prior to that, declared the (2) Mercury, the Times had been doing its best to incite war. Later the Mercury extended its indictment to all of the pro-Government organs. The Scotsman was especially singled out and denounced for its practice of issuing canards which it /

(1) Cal. Mer., 2 Jan. 1862.

(2) Ibid, 4 January.

it would deny on the following day. The Scotsman, described as "our local Munchhausen", was denounced in particular for issuing false rumours about interventionist proposals by Louis Napoleon and concerning statements falsely alleged to have been made by General Scott. The objects of the Whig press were averred to be "to excite public feeling and probably to affect business on 'Change.'⁽¹⁾" When news finally arrived that America had acceded to the demand for the release of Mason and Slidell, the Mercury asked: "Who is right now? - the sanguinary journals who asked the British public to believe that the American Government designed deliberately to insult the British flag, or the so-called peace journals, ourselves among the number, who hold that nations, like individuals, are liable to make mistakes, and that there are other and better means of settling international difficulties than by despatching thousands of souls into another world by the leaden messengers of an American gun". The paper proceeded to analyse and attack the influence of the war party and press and called for an end to "sensational-mongering" in the press - asserting that America could suppose /

(1) Cal. Mer., 7 January.

suppose with justice from the hostile tone of much of the press that British sympathy generally was with the Rebels rather than the Unionists.⁽¹⁾

Whatever the reason, the Scotsman did indeed, as the Mercury pointed out, effect a change of tone towards the end of the crisis, and when the American note was received, the paper described it as: "The glad tidings of yesterday, that war between two great and kindred nations had been escaped....The American Government has done the right thing in a right way." Although the Scotsman expressed certain doubts as to the American attitude and complained that Lincoln should have released Mason and Slidell immediately instead of waiting to be pressed, it nevertheless criticised certain newspapers for gloating over the American compliance. "Anything like swagger, triumph, or taunt, ought to be utterly avoided as unseemly, unmanly, and emphatically un-English (sic). In any view the American statesmen must be regarded as having been put to a sore trial, feeling contending with reason, and pride with justice; and their difficulties were enormously aggravated by the reckless and blatant manner in which the press and the orators seemed to commit the country to a course /

(1) Cal. Mer., 9 January 1862.

course opposite to that which has been taken. It is therefore a duty which we owe to them and also to ourselves not to be critical, but rather to be somewhat unobservant - and to seek opportunities, not for shabby taunts, nor patronising forgiveness, but for friendly and hearty compliments."⁽¹⁾

On the news of the return of Mason and Slidell the Mail stated that Lincoln was right in delaying this action in order to allow passions to cool down. At the same time, the paper urged Britain to be prepared for an American attempt at revenge after the Civil War, and urged the Government, as a precautionary measure, to build naval dockyards on the Clyde, rather than on the Mersey as had been suggested by Laird.⁽²⁾ When America's compliance was finally confirmed, the Mail declared that future relations between the two countries would depend on whether Washington had submitted from a sense of right or from one of expediency combined with a determination to get revenge later. The successful termination of the dispute was attributed to Palmerston and Russell, for the strong stand which they took.⁽³⁾ On the other hand, the American Government /

(1) Scotsman, 10 January 1862.

(2) NBDM, 9 January.

(3) Ibid, 10 January.

Government was criticised for its handling of the case and particularly for its delay in complying with the

British note.⁽¹⁾

The Mail, however, reassured: "Our American cousins that our warlike preparations are only precautionary and that if they behave themselves as other civilised peoples do they have nothing to fear from us."⁽²⁾

The Mail affirmed that a quick end was impossible and predicted that recognition of the Confederacy might eventually become necessary, although it averred that "the strictest neutrality" was the best policy for the present.⁽³⁾

On the sixteenth the Courant indulged in a long criticism of Seward's reasons for returning Mason and Slidell and pointed out that the American Secretary of State still claimed the right of search and held that only the manner of the seizure was wrong (i.e. the Trent had not been brought before a prize court). The Courant, however, was forced to admit that "Mr. Seward cuts a more respectable literary figure than expected".

The Courant admitted that: "The Federal Government have /

(1) NBDM, 15 January.

(2) Ibid, 16 January.

(3) NBDM, 17 January 1862. On the following day a leader in the Mail discussed the American paper money and declared that: "America has abundance of inherent value in her cotton, timber, corn and wool, but these are not available in such an emergency, and we do not hesitate to regard the paper money scheme as but the beginning of the end." - again, obviously the voice of the cautious Scottish business man. (NBDM, 18 January).

have acted with discretion and the Northern people with a continence which we are hardly entitled to expect from them". However, the Tory organ ridiculed the claims of the peace party and came to the conclusion opposite to that of the Mercury in the matter - namely that America had bowed to superior force and not to the pleas of the peace party. The Courant concluded that America should not be taken seriously any longer. (1)

Although the great majority of Scots were undoubtedly pleased with the peaceful settlement of the crisis, great disappointment prevailed among the more chauvinist section of the Scottish Tories. One of them summed up these feelings in a letter, declaring: "It appears to me that the Federal Government, or rather we should say, the American people, have degraded the national character and affronted their origin in the noble Anglo-Saxon race by the manner in which they met and yielded to the first demand of England for reparation and restitution. When a generous, high-minded gentleman finds he has inadvertently wronged a friend and neighbour, he at once confesses his error and apologises, and there is an end of the matter; but the braggart and mean-spirited Americans do not scruple, while /

(1) Courant, 10 January.

while admitting they are in the wrong, to proclaim to the world that they have only yielded to fear of chastisement and soothe their vanity by vowing eternal hatred and vengeance against England whenever they are able to injure her. Truly, their humiliation is great and glaring, although inflicted by their own hands...." ⁽¹⁾

In the February issue of Blackwood's G. R. Gleig gave vent to the same feeling in an article on the defence of Canada. ⁽²⁾ Gleig admitted reluctantly that the war threat had subsided, but he hastened to predict that this was only temporary. He maintained that the American people and Government were still hostile to Britain and that: "The Americans have been coerced into an act of justice, which they performed with the least possible grace." He went on to preach the inevitability of a war with America, dwelling with a glee somewhat unbecoming to a Christian clergyman upon the hostile measures Britain would carry out when the long-awaited clash finally occurred - "We shall assail their harbours, burn their fleets, destroy their commerce, and keep their whole seaboard in a state of constant alarm." ⁽³⁾

The /

-
- (1) Courant, 14 January 1862 - letter to the editor.
 (2) Blackwood's, XCI, 228 et seq. (February 1862).
 (3) It should be noted in this connection that Gleig had served with the Brit. army in America in 1812-13 and had been wounded at the capture of Washington.

The Duke of Argyll expressed his joy over the settlement in a letter to Sumner. However, the Duke criticised part of Seward's despatch on the Trent which held that Wilkes was wrong only in not bringing the ship before a prize court. "If this principle be acted upon", the Duke admonished Sumner, "we shall be at the point of war every week." Urging that the American Government should recognise refugee rights under a neutral flag at sea, the Duke asked Sumner to use his influence in America to make clear the British position.⁽¹⁾

Dr. Guthrie expressed his own approval of the settlement but at the same time gave vent to that strong residue of hostility which the affair had left, even in some of the most liberal minds.

"We are all rejoicing in the tidings from America. I believe that if we had felt ourselves compelled to go to war the Government would have been heartily backed by the nation, for the Yankees are not liked, and slavery and their complicity with it are deeply detested, and then it was felt that if they should be allowed in this matter to insult us with impunity, such is their vanity, pride, and haughtiness and unscrupulousness that there would have been no /

(1) JPMHA, XLVII, 96-8 (Argyll-Sumner, 10 Jan. 1862).

no living in this world with them, even with the Atlantic between us. However, the war would have been a shocking affair. The whole management of this affair will strengthen the Government in which I rejoice."⁽¹⁾

Eliza Wigham expressed her relief over the peaceful settlement of the crisis and did her best to reassure the American Abolitionists that there was a general desire for peace in Scotland. She referred to the strong anti-war position taken by W. E. Baxter, as more representative of the general feeling.

On 11 January Edinburgh received a visit from Gladstone, who delivered two speeches in Leith and Edinburgh. The Chancellor of the Exchequer called for good relations with the American Government and praised the latter for its handling of the crisis.⁽²⁾ However, in one of his speeches at Leith he asserted that the original widespread sympathy for the Union had waned as the idea of re-union seemed to be becoming unrealistic - an interesting foreshadowing of his famous pro-Confederate speech at Newcastle⁽³⁾ in the following October.

On /

(1) Dr. Guthrie-Duchess of Argyll, 16 Jan. 1862 (Guthrie Papers, Nat. Lib. of Scotland).

(2) Scotsman, 13 January, 1862. Gladstone was Lord Rector of the University at this time and was also looking after the interests of the Scottish Episcopalians.

(3) NBDM, 13 January.

On 22 January, a prayer meeting assembled in the Free Church Assembly Hall at the Mound to give thanks for the maintenance of peace with America. Thanks were offered to God for guiding the Government to a peaceful settlement and blessings were sought for both countries. The platform was occupied by prominent clergy and laymen of the Free Church and U.P. denominations. (1) On the same day, Edward Ellice, M.P., whose family had large real estate investments in America, spoke at St. Andrews in favour of the peaceful settlement of the crisis. He attacked the Confederates and urged that Britain give no encouragement to slavery. However, he suggested that it might help towards abolition if the Southern States were allowed to go in peace, since, in his opinion, slavery could not survive without the Fugitive Slave Law and the co-operation of the Northern States. (2)

Meanwhile, trade, which had been completely depressed during the Trent affair, began to revive after the settlement had been arranged, and on 23 January, the American consul /

(1) Scotsman, 23 January. The meeting was presided over by Capt. Grobe, R.N., and among those on the platform were Lord Radstock, Maj.Gen. Anderson, Lt.Col. Davidson, the Reverend Prof. Duncan, Rev. J. J. Wood, Rev. Dr. Johnston, Rev. G. D. Cullen, Rev. C. J. Brown, Sheriff Cleghorn, and Mr. Craigie of Falconhall.

(2) Scotsman, 23 January.

consul reported that a ship had just left for America with the largest cargo of dry goods ever to be shipped there from the Clyde.⁽¹⁾

An interesting sidelight of the war scare resulting from the Trent crisis was the sudden concern for Scottish coastal defences, as memories were stirred of the incursions of Paul Jones at the time of the American Revolution. A correspondent, signing himself "J.S.", wrote to the Scotsman warning that the towns on the Firth of Forth were unprotected and urging that fortifications should be erected to defend Leith. For this purpose he called for the immediate erection of batteries at Inchkeith - a step which had been planned several years previously but had not as yet been carried out. "It certainly will cause much dissatisfaction and regret," the writer warned, "if we delay constructing the batteries until the town of Leith has been burned by some successor of Paul Jones." ⁽²⁾Scotsman, 25 Dec. 1861.

On the heels of the Trent affair came the controversial incident of the "stone fleet". The American Navy had sunk a number of old vessels filled with stones outside Charleston harbour in order to block up several of the subsidiary channels /

(1) Prettyman-Seward, 23 January 1862.

(2) Scotsman, 25 Dec. 1861.

channels. The episode was welcomed by those circles which had been disappointed with the pacific solution of the Trent affair. The press declared that it was an attempt to destroy Charleston harbour permanently and that it was a prelude to similar operations outside of other Southern ports. Encouraged by suggestions from Louis Napoleon, the "stone fleet" became a pretext for renewing the cry for intervention. In Blackwood's, Hamley enquired: "How long will the great powers of Europe stand by and see such enormities committed?" Calling for the immediate recognition of the Confederacy and the breaking of the blockade, Hamley called for war with America and predicted that the Union would shortly disintegrate.⁽¹⁾ The Scotaman on the also denounced the "stone fleet", and commented favourably / suggestions for intervention put forward by Louis Napoleon, who, according to the Scotsman, wished to "do something towards bringing to an end a war whose barbarous acts and very nature are a discredit to civilisation and humanity."⁽²⁾

In Glasgow the N.B. Daily Mail, increasingly alarmed over the growing menace of the cotton famine, used the "stone /

(1) Blackwood's XCI, 121, et seq.

(2) Scotsman, 11 January 1862.

"stone fleet" as a pretext for launching an attack on the blockade. In spite of its previous support for the Federals, the Mail now considered favourably the possibility of intervening with the aid of France. "If such a course is adopted," the Mail argued, "the South may soon be laid open to the commerce of the world, and there will be some hope of our present embarrassment (i.e. the cotton famine) being removed."⁽¹⁾

For a time, the general hostility toward America which had been aroused by the Trent affair, was revived by the press campaign. Eliza Wigham informed the American Abolitionists that the incident had "aroused intense disgust" in Scotland even among her own Abolitionist associates, but added that on second thoughts, the presentation of the episode by the press was suspected; "Our minds are altering when we understand it a little better, and I hope that we shall soon know that your Government had no such inhuman intention (i.e. of permanently destroying the port)⁽²⁾".

We have seen that the settlement of the Trent crisis resulted in a general feeling of relief and a popular reaction in favour of America, and also that, on the other hand /

(1) NBDM, 21 January.

(2) E. Wigham - S. May Jr., 24 January 1862.

hand, a renewed agitation against the Federals was commenced in press and political circles. On 23 January 1862 the American consul in Glasgow warned Seward that the
 Tories had launched a campaign to raise the blockade.⁽¹⁾
 The press campaign against the "stone fleet" was a part of this effort, since the looming threat of a cotton famine made the blockade a vulnerable target for pro-Confederate propaganda. The pro-Confederate campaign received a great impetus from the publication and subsequent popularity of James Spence's American Union.⁽²⁾ Spence's work was the chief piece of pro-Confederate apologetics to appear in Britain during the war and had a great effect in moulding upper class opinion on the issues of the Civil War.⁽³⁾
 In the course of his apology in favour of the Rebellion, Spence stressed several main themes, which were adopted by the Confederate sympathisers in Scotland. In the first place he argued at length in favour of the "states rights" interpretation of the American Constitution, upon which the Secessionists rested their legal case. In the second /

(1) Prettyman-Seward, 23 January 1862.

(2) James Spence, The American Union, London, 1861; revised edition, 1862.

(3) E. D. Adams, Great Britain and the American Civil War, I, 183. "Spence's book," asserts Adams, "rapidly went through many editions, was widely read, and furnished the evidence for many a pro-Southern editorial. Spence himself soon became the intimate friend and adviser of Mason."

second place Spence stressed the certainty of a Confederate victory in the war - a view supported by the "military experts" of the day. Thirdly, Spence although professing to be anti-slavery, was at great pains to explain that the system had many extenuating features and was in many respects the best thing for the negro in his present state of ignorance and barbarism. Indeed, the book contained throughout a great amount of racialist doctrine. The racial purity of the Southern whites was contrasted with the debased and "mongrelised" composition of the Northern population. This latter theme was closely interwoven with Spence's political thesis that democracy was a decadent and inferior form of government which could not stand up to the superior qualities of the Southern ruling class.⁽¹⁾ At the same time Spence made extensive use of the old Garrisonian argument that secession would facilitate emancipation⁽²⁾ and even quoted Garrison to that effect.

Spence's clever pleading managed to appeal not only to the Tories and reactionaries, but also to many Liberals:- those who were horrified at the Morrill Tariff; those who were eager to espouse the cause of some oppressed nationality; and those who had been won over to the old Garrisonian /

(1) e.g., Spence, op.cit., (rev.ed.), 75-76.

(2) e.g., Ibid, 76.

Garrisonian idea that the severance of the South from the North would facilitate the emancipation of the slaves. Spence managed to lull many uneasy consciences by suggesting vaguely that the Confederates would gradually emancipate their slaves once they had established their independence. The Free Church North British Review, for instance, swallowed the bait completely and gave the book (1) a highly favourable reception.

Attacking the American Government for not recognising "the revolutionary character" of the Civil War, the Edinburgh Review accepted Spence's argument that the United States had been permanently dissolved by the secession of the Southern States and that the Constitution was no longer valid even in the North. After an exposition of the "states' rights" interpretation of the Constitution, the article went on to quote Spence on the violence and lawlessness prevailing in America. (2) Asserting that America would always be an international troublemaker, the article pointed to the apparent failure of the Federal Government to reassert its authority in the South, and enquired /

(1) No. Brit. Rev., XXXVI, 233-72 (Feb. 1862).

(2) The examples referred to to illustrate these tendencies were actually all applicable primarily to the Southerners - i.e. aggression in Mexico and the Caribbean, lynching, and the assault on Sumner.

enquired: "Can we indeed long avoid entertaining seriously the recognition of the Southern States as a de facto independent government?.....The recognition of the South is a mere question of time." The article argued that the Federal Government had ceased for a year to exercise de facto authority over the southern states and that British interests would have to be protected by entering into relations with the Richmond Government. The restoration of the Union was described as a "chimera" and the writer asserted that "The States of Europe have a full right to recognise the Southern Confederacy whenever they conceive that it suits their own interests to do so." The article concluded by declaring that the existence of slavery in the southern states was irrelevant to the question of recognition.⁽¹⁾

When Charles Sumner, in a speech on January 9, attacked the European movement for recognition, Henry Reeve (editor of the Edinburgh Review) referred the Senator to the above article, and wrote:

"I am able to state that the doctrines, arguments, and views contained in that article are assented to by many, perhaps I might say most, of the highest legal authorities in /

(1) Edinburgh Review, CXV, 258 et seq.

in this country.....We continue to watch with the greatest interest your great struggle, although we don't share your views about the men whom you call 'rebels' or 'traitors', but who are to you exactly what Washington and Franklin were to Great Britain in 1776. I think another three months will decide the contest; if the South is conquered or gives in by that time, well and good. If not, the time ^{be} will/come for Europe to recognise the Southern ConfederationAs all the great powers of Europe will probably act together you will have to submit or go to war with all mankind. (1) --

"Hitherto, England is the least disposed of all the powers (except Russia) to recognise the South. France and Spain would readily do so immediately. They have been held back by England; and I do not think that when Parliament meets any immediate steps will be taken to urge the recognition. But unless a very great change speedily occurs in the attitude of the combatants, we almost all recognise the recognition of the South as an inevitable occurrence, and it is my own belief that this will bring about the termination of the Civil War." (2)

In /

(1) The identification of Europe with "all mankind" is an interesting reflection of the thinking of the period.

(2) JPMHA, XLVII, 94-6. The letter is dated 28 January.

In December Blackwood himself had predicted that the superior resources of the Unionists would in the end be overcome by the superior spirit of the Rebels.⁽¹⁾ Early in the following year, Blackwood's carried a long article by Hamley praising the American Union.⁽²⁾ In discussing Spence's contention that the Rebels could maintain themselves because of the physical nature of the war theatre, Hamley confessed that there had been some change for the worse in the Confederates' position during the early months of 1862. Unlike most of the contemporary "experts", Hamley did recognise the importance of the Western theatre of operations, and admitted that the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson by General Grant were important local successes for the Federals. However, he came to the conclusion, based upon analogous campaigns in Europe, that the Union armies would not be able to leave the big river valleys, and they would be held up by such factors as the vast distances, poor communications, mountain ranges, and hostile population of the Southern states. Using a classic /

(1) Blackwood's, XC, 767.

(2) Blackwood's, XCI, 524. Sir Edward Bruce Hamley was a regular army officer and a regular contributor to Blackwood's. He wrote a number of books, chiefly on military topics, e.g., The Operations of War, explained and illustrated, 1st ed., Edinburgh and London, 1866; The Story of the Campaign of Sebastopol, London, 1855. Hamley was a strong Carlylean and wrote a long essay entitled Thomas Carlyle, (2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1881).

classic expedient of many military "experts", he argued that the extensive withdrawals carried out by the Rebel forces were actually strengthening the Confederacy from a military point of view, in that they resulted in shortening their fronts and lines of communications. (1)

Hamley did favour British intervention in the war as long as the Rebels seemed able to resist unaided, although he attacked the recognition of the blockade. (2)

During the early part of 1862 the Courant continued to suggest that European intervention might be necessary in the near future. On 28 January, the Tory organ declared: "The leaders of Europe are obliged to lay their heads together to consult whether, in the cause of civilization, we ought not to stop an American Civil War as the police do a prize fight." In order to bolster up its campaign for intervention, the Courant was forced to reverse its earlier contention that the Confederates were rebels and the Federals conservatives fighting to uphold constitutional authority: "A round dozen of republics separating from another batch of republics cannot be practically viewed as rebels for any purpose whatsoever." (3)

At /

(1) Blackwood's, XCI, 532.

(2) Ibid, 534.

(3) Courant, 28 January.

At the same time the Courant was forced to notice the Federal advances and victories in the early months of 1862. The capture of Forts Henry and Donaldson by General Grant were admitted to be important victories, although the balance of overall success was declared to lie with the Confederates in view of the fact that the odds were against them.⁽¹⁾

In the middle of April the Courant admitted that the Federal armies were still advancing, but stressed the determination of the Confederates to fight on. Corinth on the Mississippi was designated as the most important point of the war, and the paper warned that the Confederates must defend the Memphis, Charleston, Mobile rail system if they were to have a reasonable hope of holding their own.

The Caledonian Mercury rejoiced at the Federal successes in the early spring and described the fall of New Orleans and Newbern, the coastal invasion of North Carolina, etc., as "humiliating Confederate failures".⁽²⁾ At the end of April the Mercury devoted two columns to refuting a pro-Confederate speech made by Gladstone to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. It contrasted this latter address with the Chancellor's previous speech in favour of neutrality /

(1) e.g., Courant, 13 March, 3 April.

(2) Caledonian Mercury, 5 April.

neutrality made at Leith. The Mercury denied the widespread belief expressed by Gladstone that it would be impossible to subdue the Confederates, and predicted accurately that the Confederates would eventually be beaten and that they would submit rather than fight to the finish (1) as martyrs for their cause.

The battle between the Monitor and the Merrimac, which heralded the eclipse of wooden warships by iron ones, received considerable attention in Scotland. The Courant pointed out that the battle proved Britain's need for iron ships, and in Glasgow, where the rapidly growing iron ship-building industry was on the look-out for Government contracts, the N.B. Daily Mail gave considerable attention to (2) the possible threat to British naval supremacy. (3) The Mail was still supporting the Federals at this period and gave a very favourable review to a pro-Union book by the Christian Socialist leader, J. M. Ludlow, entitled A Sketch of the History of the U.S. from Independence to Secession. The Mail agreed with Ludlow in supporting the national, as opposed to the states' rights interpretation of the Constitution and in denouncing the aggressive slave power of the South. (4)

During /

- (1) Caledonian Mercury, 28 April.
- (2) See Chapter II.
- (3) NBDM, 7 April, et. seq.
- (4) Ibid, 9 April 1862.

During May the war continued to progress in favour of the Federals, much to the perturbation of Rebel sympathisers in Scotland. Baron Bourke confessed to Blackwood his fears that the Rebels were "having a bad time of it", but expressed his conviction that there would be no re-

(1) union. The fall of New Orleans and McLellan's offensive against Richmond encouraged this temporary pessimism, although Bourke reiterated his conviction that the Confederates could not be entirely subdued and declared that he saw no prospects of ending the war. (2) The Courant

consoled itself by observing that the Federal repulse at Charleston was another proof of the superiority of the Southern aristocracy. (3)

The fall of New Orleans was particularly galling to the Tories in view of the failure of the British to capture the city in 1815. The Courant admitted that the restoration of the city to the Union was important historically and for prestige purposes, but described it as an easy victory due to the Federals' naval supremacy rather than their fighting qualities. It reasserted its belief that the /

(1) Bourke-Blackwood, n.d. (probably some time in May).

(2) Ibid, 12 May.

(3) Courant, 28 April.

the reconquest of the South was still impossible, although the Federals might win successes due to their material superiority. On the question of mediation, the Courant declared: "Neither honour or pleasure is to be hoped for from meddling in their affairs in any way, though stern duty may compel us to interpose by and by if the brutal and stupid frenzy of war lasts."⁽¹⁾

At the same time the alleged severities of General Benjamin Butler, the Federal commander in New Orleans, were worked up into "atrocities stories", calculated to arouse sympathy for the Rebels.⁽²⁾ Another editorial, probably inspired by the fear of an imminent Federal victory, asserted that the public were becoming bored with the war and were rapidly losing interest.⁽³⁾

As the Federal armies advanced on Richmond in June the Courant became increasingly active in advocating intervention. Arguing that, although the Federals might occupy Richmond together with large areas of the South, they could never achieve final victory, the Tory organ enquired: "How long is Europe to wait while the North is making the experiment? And what right has the North to any further consideration/"

(1) Courant, 14 May.

e.g.,
(2) Ibid, 30 May.

(3) Ibid, 22 April, 1862.

consideration from Europe if it refuses to listen to
 proposals of mediation?"⁽¹⁾

The Caledonian Mercury replied that it was significant that at a time when the Federal armies were closing in on Richmond "we hear the sinister croak about intervention". The Mercury declared that the only intervention worth engaging in, would be to stop the Confederates from burning cotton. The Radical organ warned that the proposed "mediation" meant in effect to recognise the Confederacy. Declaring that the opening of New Orleans and other Southern ports deprived Britain and France of any pretext for intervening or offering mediation, the Mercury declared: "One could laugh at the absurdity of the notion were it not that these papers speak only as they are bidden".⁽²⁾ The paper's London correspondent described the individuals and financial interests leading the intervention drive and⁽³⁾ denounced them strongly.

In the middle of June the Mail recounted the various Rebel retreats and withdrawals and observed: "We are inclined to think the back of the rebellion is broken". The Mail expressed the belief that the Confederates would be /

(1) Courant, 13 June 1862.

(2) Cal. Mer., 16 June.

(3) Ibid, 21 June.

be unable to carry on a guerilla war and gave great praise to the morale and fighting ability of the Federals. The paper expressed admiration for the enthusiastic volunteering in the Northern states but predicted that the financial burden of the war would be very severe, especially in view of the fact that, although the American soldiers were good they were "highly paid and expensively fed."⁽¹⁾ America's wartime financial policy continued to excite a mixture of distrust and wonder in Scottish commercial circles. In June the Scotsman expressed surprise that American securities were high on the market in spite of the war and the issue of inconvertible paper money. The Scotsman now admitted that America might be able to carry on for some time on paper money, but asserted that as the result of the latter, "The danger is of course heightened, and the collapse made more certain.....Thanks to Horner, Ricardo, and MacCulloch, the evils attendant on such departures from sound banking principles are now well understood in this country."⁽²⁾ In July the paper devoted further attention to American finances and attacked the Morrill Tariff which it declared put the Northern ports under a blockade similar in /

(1) NBDM, 12 June 1862.

(2) Scotsman, 11 June.

in effect to that around the Southern ports. (1) In October, the Scotsman, although still deprecating American financial methods, was forced to admit that so far they (2) had been completely successful.

When the Federal advance was checked before Richmond, the Mercury freely admitted a Union reverse and deprecated the rejoicings of the Confederate sympathisers, and their exaggerated claims of an overwhelming victory. The paper pointed out that the Federals could afford to suffer a reverse, whereas a serious defeat in front of Richmond would be fatal to the Confederacy. Although denouncing the principles for which they were fighting the Mercury gave generous praise to the heroism of the Confederate (3) soldiers and the skill of their generals.

With the Federal setback in front of Richmond the "mediation" movement began to gather headway. Warning that the move was being fostered by many "public speakers and writers", the Mail pointed out that for the present the Federals would not give up the Union and the Rebels would not give up secession, so that there was no basis for mediation. At the same time the Mail attacked a compromise speech by Representative Wood of New York, calling /

(1) Scotsman, 12 July.

(2) Ibid, 13 October.

(3) Cal. Mer., 18,19 June.

calling for reunion with slavery. The Mail declared that there could be no peace or mediation in America (1) without the settlement of the slavery question.

The "mediation" campaign was furthered by the publication of atrocity stories in the pro-Confederate press. The favourite subject for these stories at this period was the activities of General Benjamin Butler, Federal Commander at New Orleans. Butler's "crimes" were in reality rather innocuous and consisted mainly in his demanding that the negroes be treated as socially equal to the whites. When Butler threatened to enforce certain by-laws penalising prostitution against certain women who persisted in insulting Federal soldiers, the newspapers gleefully set to work to arouse a great amount of righteous indignation at this alleged wrong to Southern womanhood. The Scotsman, in particular, expanded at length on the misdeeds of Butler, who was held to exemplify the depraved nature of the Northerners. "Scratch a North American," asserted the Scotsman, "even be he a Massachusetts lawyer (i.e., Butler) - and do we not find something very like a cabman of Dublin or a bandit of the Black Forest?" (2)

The /

(1) NBDM, 24 June.

(2) Scotsman, 4 July.

The Courant was even more forthright on the subject and described the proclamation as "one of the basest examples of cowardly turpitude that the annals of even Yankee blackguardism could furnish".⁽¹⁾

The following month Argyll warned Sumner that the growing distress due to the cotton famine would result in growing pressure on the British Government for some sort of action in the matter - "under the pressure of necessity men do not always act reasonably." A short time previously the American Government had issued a proclamation to the effect that the liberated Southern ports (New Orleans, Norfolk, Port Royal, etc.) were reopened to foreign trade. Argyll now urged that this be followed up by allowing traders to operate inland and up the rivers to buy cotton from the planters. Referring to McLellan's repulse in the course of the Seven Days campaign, Argyll asked: "will it only excite the Government the more to more determined efforts, or will it tend to induce a disposition to concede a settlement? We are all speculating."⁽²⁾

While McLellan's advance continued, the Courant had drawn back somewhat from interventionism. It cast a cold eye on the "mediation" proposals put forward by the Times and /

(1) Courant, 4 July.

(2) Argyll-Sumner, 12 July (JPMHA, XLVII, 99).

and the Constitutionnel (Louis Napoleon's organ in Paris). Pointing out that the proposal would be useless unless backed up by force and possibly war, the Courant suggested that "Ministers are right to hesitate before incurring the risk".⁽¹⁾ McLellan's northward retreat was described as a turning point in the war, although the Courant observed that the Federals were busy summoning up a greater effort instead of making peace. The paper expressed the belief that the strong resistance offered by the Confederates would strengthen the Northern Democrats, "who will one day have to negotiate peace".⁽²⁾

The same July saw the most notorious canard of the war - the false report that the whole Federal army in Virginia had surrendered and that McLellan had fled in a gunboat. The report reached Edinburgh about noon on 18 July and was printed in the third edition of all the papers, causing a considerable sensation. The next day the Mercury denounced the report "as a shameful hoax, no doubt designed to affect the market in stocks and shares."⁽³⁾ The Mercury continued to do its best to counter the pro-Confederate leaning of most of the press: it denied charges /

(1) Courant, 16 June.

(2) Ibid, 30 July.

(3) Cal. Mer., 19 July 1862.

charges of Federal cowardice during the Seven Days campaign and asserted that on the contrary the Federals had shown great courage in repelling "the furious and determined assaults of an enemy vastly superior in point of numbers." It proceeded to deny the claim that the Rebels had won a decisive victory in the campaign and rebuked the pro-Confederate press for publishing distortions and hoaxes which tended to endanger peace with America. The Mercury warned that if the Confederate sympathisers succeeded in provoking a war with America, the economic consequences at home would be disastrous. "The remainder of our commerce would be as certainly destroyed as the cotton trade is now and the population of this country reduced to a state of frightful misery.....The jibes, jeers, and falsehoods of the Times and similar organs go forth to America as the expression of English sentiment on the controversy and is^{so} accepted by the American people.....If we escape a fearful war before this crisis is over, no thanks to the vile imitators of Southern rowdies who now labour to poison British minds against their kinsmen in the Free States of the Union." (1)

A few days later the Mercury again denounced the efforts of the Times to stir up interventionist sentiment by describing the Federals as a "mongrel race of plunderers and /

(1) Cal. Mer., 21 July.

and oppressors". "These are the words by which it (the Times) designates a people sprung mainly from Puritan forefathers and added to by a wholesale emigration from these United Kingdoms during the last twenty or thirty years. It styles the Southern slaveholders - the Legress and all this odious class - 'our own English kith and kin' and calls upon the people to give their whole 'moral weight' to the immoral rebels who fight for dominion over human flesh and blood." The Mercury continued to argue that the defence of slavery was the chief motive force behind the Rebellion, and warned that if the interventionists had their way Britain would be dragged into a war "against our fellow freemen in that land where so many sons of Britain have found a home. These fratricides are merely the tools of some clever, designing Southern knaves who are working the oracle in London and find amid its unscrupulous writers willing dupes for their dastardly schemes." The Mercury urged business men, workers, and clergy to unite in
(1)
resisting the efforts of the war party.

The Federal point of view was forcefully presented by the Reverend Theodore Cuyler, pastor of the Lafayette Ave. Church in Brooklyn, who was visiting Edinburgh during the summer /

(1) Cal. Mer., 25 July.

summer. He asserted that the Federals would fight until the South was reconquered, since it would be disastrous to permit the establishment of a semi-barbarous slave-holding empire. "All Christendom has a mighty stake in this war," the American minister declared and went on to argue that America was more justified in putting down the Rebellion than Britain had been in suppressing the Indian Mutiny. He minimised the peace agitation in the North and denounced the N.Y. Herald. He expressed his pleasure in hearing a great deal of pro-Federal sentiment in Edinburgh and declared that this represented the continuation of the traditions of Wallace, Knox, and Argyll. He maintained that although a few Britons, like the few Americans represented by the N.Y. Herald, desired war, they were not representative. He concluded by arguing that the cause of the Federals represented that of civilization, Christianity, and liberty. A sharp controversy ensued, as Cuyler's stand was attacked by the Scotsman,⁽¹⁾ and defended by a Scot who had recently visited America. The latter remarked that he had gone with a "lurking sympathy for the Rebels but had changed his view during the visit /

(1) Scotsman, 21 July 1862, letter to the editor.

visit. He described the intensity, determination, and solidarity he had found among the people and declared that they had been politically dominated for years by the slaveholders and then betrayed by the latter. Referring to alleged anti-British sentiment, he maintained that the American people were naturally sensitive to the threat of British intervention, especially when so many of the youth were at the front. He concluded by asserting emphatically⁽¹⁾ that any idea of mediation was futile.

At the beginning of August the Courant devoted a leader to discussing the pros and cons of mediation and recognition of the Confederacy. On the positive side it mentioned the bloody and indecisive nature of the war and the cotton famine; on the negative side it referred to the probability that these steps would lead to war with America. The Courant concluded that there were good grounds for intervening, although the time was not yet ripe. Referring to such precedents as the Greek war of independence, the paper declared: "We are not destitute of precedents to authorise and justify our intervention if we should hereafter deem it proper in the interests of /

(1) Scotsman, 6 August.

of humanity and for our own security and self-preservation⁽¹⁾ to interpose our mediation between the contending parties." In anticipation of a Government move for intervention, the Tory organ continued to hold forth on the apparent futility of the war and the growing severity of the cotton famine. On 26 August the Courant praised the courage and skill shown by the Confederates, and blamed the Federals for continuing the war and thus prolonging the cotton famine. The paper stated that Federal predictions of an early victory were now shown to be "braggadoccio" and asked rhetorically: "Where is it all going to end? It seems to get more purposeless and incoherent as well as savage and brutal the longer it lasts."⁽²⁾

The Mercury, on the other hand, criticised Russell's delay in answering Seward's note of 28 May setting forth the Federal war aims and appealing for sympathy. Furthermore, the Mercury stated that when the reply was made (28 July) "The high themes treated by Mr. Seward were treated as if they related to old stores instead of the most important political problems. If we had not obtained a later expression of the views of the Ministry in the Queen's speech /

(1) Courant, 4 August.

(2) Ibid, 26 August.

speech, we would have regarded Earl Russell's reply as an indication of a spirit at work hostile to the North and favourable to the Rebels. Happily after the explicit declaration given forth to the world that there exists no intention of intervening on the part of the Ministry, we can regard the Foreign Secretary's answer as being unhappy without being dangerous." Seward's note, on the other hand, was described as "temperate and manly" and was praised for explaining the connection of slavery with the war and the need to put down the Rebellion in order to relieve the distress in Britain. The Mercury agreed with Seward's contention that the war was being prolonged by pro-Confederate elements in Britain who were sympathising with and aiding the Rebels.⁽¹⁾ In a lengthy analysis of the war on 16 August, the Mercury came to the conclusion that the situation was favourable to the Federals. The paper pointed out the important fact, ignored by most of the press, that the Confederates had now reached their peak in manpower and resources, whereas the Federals still had immense reserves to draw upon. "The cause of human progress," asserted the Mercury, "requires the North to be victorious."⁽²⁾

Lincoln's /

(1) Cal. Mer., 18 August.

(2) Ibid, 16 August.

Lincoln's proposal to introduce conscription was pictured as a sign of weakness by pro-Confederate papers, but the Mercury praised "the energetic resolution of President Lincoln to bring the rebellion to a close by drafting sufficient men into the army to overwhelm all opposition." For the first time, however, the Mercury began to question the competence of the Federal commanders and criticise their fumbling and dilatory tactics. "The united commands of Pope and Burnside cannot be short of 100,000 men; and surely it is not too much to expect that with such a force the Federals will be able to invest Richmond far more closely on that side than they have hitherto done." The Mercury also criticised the Federal Government for refusing to recruit negro regiments and pointed out that they needed all the help they could get. "We are afraid victory will not declare itself in favour of the Federals until they act a more straightforward part in favour of the negroes."⁽¹⁾

The Federal setbacks were seized upon by the Scottish Tories as further proof of the inferiority of democratic society. According to the Courant, the midsummer battles had /

(1) Cal. Mer., 17 September 1862.

had shown the superiority of the Southern aristocracy and "the failure of a thorough going democracy to produce men of a first rate capacity for leadership." Arguing that, since the eighteenth century "notions" of Washington and Jefferson had now been discredited, Britain should turn back to older traditions, the Tory organ invited those who still believed in democracy to "look at America, and they will see dolts and vulgarians dragging their countrymen under fire and getting them shot with a stupidity worthy of the lower animals."⁽¹⁾

Anticipating the speedy establishment of Southern independence, the Scottish Tories turned their efforts to building up Jefferson Davis as the hero of the war. Under the supervision of Dudley Mann,⁽²⁾ Baron Bourke wrote an article on Davis for Blackwood's, in which the Rebel President was pictured as a refined, educated, patriotic Southern gentleman leading a glorious revolt against mob rule. The Baron /

(1) Courant, 22 September 1862.

(2) The Confederate representative in London. While Bourke was writing the article, Mann assured him that by the time of its publication Davis would be recognised as "the master spirit of the American continent. Lincoln, it is quite certain, is not only disheartened but almost in despair. I believe he will flee from Washington before the first of October and seek security where it is most likely to be found." - Mann-Bourke, 13 July 1862. See also Bourke-Blackwood, 26 March, 16 July, 8, 16, 22 August (Blackwood Papers).

Baron claimed that the Southern people were solidly behind Davis and could not be defeated, although he admitted that, since the Federals were still determined to fight on, the war would last for some time. (1) Although Bourke did his best to lay the foundation for a Davis myth, and although there were sporadic attempts by the pro-Confederate press to follow up this effort, it never quite came off. (2) Davis somehow lacked the positive qualities needed to rouse enthusiasm, even in pro-Rebel circles.

In the same issue of Blackwood's, E. B. Hamley crossed swords with Anthony Trollope, who, after visiting America early in the war, had returned to write his North America, (3) in which he expressed his enthusiasm for the Federal cause. Hamley warned the novelist that his stand was "damaging to himself" in that it revealed "a moral squint". Accusing Trollope of using his artistic imagination to obscure the real issues of the war by "a piece of mental legerdemain", Hamley turned to Trollope's plea that the press should stop abusing America. "We say," asserted Hamley, "that when an ill-bred /

(1) Blackwood's XCII, 343 et seq. (September 1862).

(2) Following the publication of Bourke's article the Courant devoted considerable space to eulogising Davis and comparing him favourably with Lincoln - e.g., Courant, 4, 5 September.

(3) A. Trollope, North America, London, 1862.

ill-bred, swaggering person appears in society, vaunting on no perceptible grounds his own superiority.....we feel obliged to the successful satirist.....we have spoken contemptuously of mob rule - will Mr. Trollope defend it?"

Hamley went on to argue that American prosperity was due, not as Trollope maintained, to the American Constitution, but to the country's natural resources.

Hamley railed against America for her part in the Trent affair and for generally being insolent to Britain, although he claimed that he was not unfriendly to the American people. "We know full well the merits and excellences of their upper classes," Hamley conceded, but warned that American political tendencies showed "an example that might be very injurious to England." He argued that the superiority of the American Constitution was disproved by what he alleged to be the complete failure of leadership in America, and maintained that the European monarchies could have done better under similar circumstances. Hamley concluded by attacking the book in general as biased and "slipshod" and advised Trollope to confine himself to writing (1) novels since he was incompetent to write on political matters.

On the other hand Trollope's book was favourably reviewed /

(1) Blackwood's, XCII, 372-90 (September 1862).

reviewed by Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, one of the few Scottish periodicals to show sympathy with the Federals. Although professing not to take sides in the war, Chambers agreed with Trollope that Americans deserved sympathy for their troubles rather than abuse: "We must all, at least, be distressed to think that a brother people has had to pass through such terrible affliction."⁽¹⁾

(1) Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, XVII, 408-9 (June 1862). In the following year, Trollope wrote a short story on the Civil War for Norman M'Leod's Good Words. (Good Words, 1863, pp. 853-61).

Early in September the Mercury attempted to explain and defend the retreat of General McLellan, pointing to the strength of the rebels around Richmond and comparing the situation with the difficulties encountered at Sebastopol. It predicted that a new Federal drive would shortly be launched on Richmond which the Confederates would be unable to resist for long, since they were past their peak in manpower, and henceforth would be steadily worn down by attrition.

In analysing the first reports of the Second Battle of Bull Run the Mercury jumped to the conclusion that it had been a reverse for the Rebels⁽¹⁾ and rejected the assertions of other newspapers that it had been another Confederate victory.⁽²⁾ However, when the full reports of the battle arrived, the Mercury was forced to admit that it was "most unfavourable to the Northern arms...It seems to have resulted in a way very ominous to the Federals."⁽³⁾ On the 17th the Mercury admitted that the Federals had been clearly defeated, but consoled its readers that at least there had not been a rout as there had been at the previous battle on the same field. Criticising the /

(1) Cal. Mer., 10 September.

(2) Ibid, 13 September.

(3) Ibid, 15 September.

the Federal commanders severely, the Mercury stated that: "It is clear that either incompetence or treason must be at work somewhere," as the circumstances could not always be against the Federals. On the other hand the Mercury praised the Rebels for their conduct during the campaign: "So far as military daring goes, we cheerfully give them the credit. Their generals are evidently superior to those of the North and until some better military leader comes to the surface in the Federal army, so long will the Federals lose ground." However, the Mercury reiterated its faith in the Federal cause,⁽¹⁾ and attributed the defeat to the confusion and divisions between McLellan, Pope, and the other Federal generals.⁽²⁾ The Courant described the Federals as being in a defeated and disorganised state; it declared that men were no longer coming forward to fill the gaps in the Federal armies, and the Government must either enforce conscription or "stir up servile insurrection in the South".⁽³⁾

The Mercury resisted the clamour for intervention which grew in intensity after Second Bull Run. It denounced the interventionists for wishing to partition America /

(1) Cal. Mer., 17 September.

(2) Ibid, 27 September.

(3) Courant, 22 September.

America and establish a slave empire. "God help the poor slaves if such is really to come to pass! We can scarcely make the assumption as a condition of argument, it seems so atheistical and insulting to Him Who is the Friend of the oppressed. It is at all events a disgraceful thing to see Christian men and even civilised men who have no pretensions to being Christian, exulting in the establishment of a kingdom where slavery is the recognised cornerstone." The Mercury also pointed out the impossibility of drawing any satisfactory boundary line between the two parties or of reaching any satisfactory solution to the question of fugitive slaves in the North. "The States," argued the Mercury,⁽¹⁾ echoing Lincoln, "must become all slave or all free".

However, in influential circles in Scotland, the tide was for the time being running heavily in favour of recognition and mediation. In Glasgow the pro-Federal forces suffered a blow when the N.B. Daily Mail deserted its previous pro-Union stand and swung over to the side of the Rebels after Second Bull Run. This change-over was due undoubtedly in part to a genuine conviction that the Rebellion could not be suppressed and that any further Federal attempts to do so would merely prolong the agony. It /

(1) Cal. Mer., 18 September 1862.

It also appears probable, from a scrutiny of its pages during this period, that the Mail had close connections with the Glasgow shipbuilding interests, which were just entering a period of great prosperity due to the expansion of blockade running and the destruction of the American merchant marine by the commerce raiders. (1) The other two main Liberal dailies in Glasgow, the Glasgow Citizen and the Morning Journal, had already espoused the Rebel cause as had the Labour organ, the Glasgow Sentinel. In Edinburgh, the Daily Review, recently established as an organ of the Free Church, also supported the Confederates, on Gladstonian, liberal nationalist grounds. (2) The sharp difference between the Daily Review and the Caledonian Mercury (which represented the U.P. and Independent Radicals, as well as the more radical section of the Free Church) over the American question is an interesting reflection of a similar clash between the two groups in the political arena of Edinburgh. The leading Free Church Liberals had accepted a compromise revision of the controversial Annuity Tax, effected by Moncrieff, Free Church Liberal /

(1) See chapter on "Clydeside and the War at Sea".

(2) The Edinburgh banker, Robert Paul, one of the principal backers of the Daily Review, typified the point of view of the upper middle class Free Churchmen whose viewpoint was reflected in the paper. Paul, for instance, was an enthusiastic supporter of Italian nationalism and a devoted adherent of Gladstone - Bell, op.cit., 250, 271, et.al. The arch-Tory, Professor Blackie, also had a hand in the paper. See Blackie Papers, MSS section, Natl. Lib. of Scotland.

Liberal leader who was then Lord Advocate for Scotland. This compromise alienated the U.P.-Independent wing of the Liberal Party who wished to have the Tax abolished altogether, and a split developed which allowed the Tory-Erastian block to gain control of the Edinburgh Town Council in November for the first time since the Reform Act.

Many Scottish Liberal leaders who sympathised with anti-slavery and to some extent, with the Federals, had now given up hope of the possibility of reunion. As early as March, 1862, the Aberdeenshire M.P., Edward Ellice, owner of large tracts of American real estate, confided to John Bright his grave fears for the future of America,⁽¹⁾ and observed to Greville that the Union was doomed, whether or not the war continued.⁽²⁾ The Duke and Duchess of Argyll increasingly shared these doubts over the Federal ability to regain the South.⁽³⁾ Thus many Liberals, even although they sympathised with America, were so disheartened by the apparent military stalemate, that they were ready to lend an ear to the proponents of intervention, particularly as the Federals were not yet committed to /

(1) The Diaries of John Bright, ed. R.A. Walling, London, 1930, p. 258.

(2) Leaves from the Diary of Henry Greville, ed. Countess of Strafford, London, 1905 - entry for 13 March, 1862, pp. 28-9.

(3) Argyll-Sumner Correspondence, JPMHA, loc. cit.

to Emancipation.

Dr. Guthrie's attitude at this time is an example of this tendency. Although he states in his Autobiography (1) that he never lost faith in a Federal victory, it is clear from his correspondence that this was not the case, and that on the contrary he had aligned himself, at least for a time, with the intervention drive.

During the summer, the great Free Church preacher was, as usual, visited by many people from both North and South, and he was appalled by the fierceness of the passions on both sides. Like many Abolitionists who had come to realise the extent to which the North had been implicated in slavery, Dr. Guthrie had come to take a "plague on both your houses" attitude toward the two sections. "They have made a god of their Union", wrote the Doctor, "and to preserve it the North has, by the silence of its ministers of religion and the acts of its politicians, made itself a partaker in the crimes of the South. Of course, there have been a few exceptions in those who 'sighed and cried (2) for all the abominations that were done in the land'". Although Dr. Guthrie discerned an increasing anti-slavery trend in Northern church circles and observed that even the /

(1) Thomas Guthrie, Autobiography, with memoir by D.K. and C.J. Guthrie, Popular Edition, London, 1877, p.667.

(2) Guthrie-Duchess of Argyll, 8 Sept. 1862 (Guthrie Papers).

the Presbyterian, which had assailed him so bitterly in the past for supporting Abolition, was now taking a stronger position against slavery, he still felt no sympathy for the Federals. "Surely now it is time for them to dissolve the partnership", he wrote to the Duchess of Argyll, "and could not our Government, although taking no prominent action in the matter, get the other powers in Europe to send them a respectful but firm remonstrance in the matter? Thank God, slavery, at any rate, is doomed....."⁽¹⁾

The increasing barbarity of the war was a major argument in favour of intervention. "Cruelty will provoke retaliation", exclaimed the Courant, "till at length we may witness a war of extermination waged between men of the same stock and lineage and marked by atrocities for which even the bloodstained annals of civil war can scarcely furnish a parallel. We gladly turn from such a picture and trust that the efforts of the wiser and more moderate Americans on either side, or the mediation of European powers, may put an end to a struggle which is deranging the balance of the commercial world as well as draining the blood and exhausting the resources of America."⁽²⁾

With /

(1) Guthrie-Duchess of Argyll, 8 Sept. 1862 (Guthrie Papers).

(2) Courant, 5 September.

With the Federal defeats and the steady worsening of the cotton famine, the situation had now reached that point where the Southern ruling class expected intervention to be forced upon the British Government by popular exasperation. As the commander of the Alabama put it: "The pressure is now upon his (John Bull's) throat, however, and he cannot much longer delay. Cotton, or starvation and riot, and perhaps bloodshed, stare him in the face, and the poor old gentleman must rouse himself from his lethargy at last."⁽¹⁾

Towards the end of September 1862, the Interventionist movement had reached a peak, and Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone, were discussing plans for recognition and mediation. On 7 October Gladstone, the member of the Cabinet most intent on forcing the issue, made the following ominous statement in the course of a speech at Newcastle: "Jefferson Davis has made an army, is making a navy, and has created something still greater - a nation."⁽²⁾ However, at about the same time came the news of the Battle of Antietam, at which the Federals for the first time inflicted a major defeat upon General Lee and his army. Influenced by this change in the military situation, Palmerston and the majority of the Cabinet drew back from the prospect of immediate /

(1) Semmes-North, 24 Jan. 1862 (ORN, 2s, II, 136-7).

(2) E. D. Adams, II, 47. (quoted in).

immediate recognition, and decided to wait a month or so, by which time possibly another Rebel victory might have redressed the military situation in America. This decision was confirmed by the news of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, which made the question of slavery an issue in the war. Russell and Gladstone, however, continued to press for recognition. On the 13th, Russell presented the Cabinet with a memorandum calling for the European powers to demand an armistice. A Cabinet meeting on the 23rd, after hearing Russell speak in favour of recognition, (1) decided to postpone the step until the next Federal defeat. However, the surge of Radical and working class opinion in favour of the Proclamation, in which the Paisley Radicals led the way, (2) helped to dissuade the Cabinet from pressing forward with this policy.

The N.B. Daily Mail signified its conversion to the Rebel cause by endorsing Gladstone's argument that the Confederates had constituted themselves a "nation". The paper /

(1) See op.cit., II, 33-75; Henry Adams, "Why Did Not England Recognise The South", JPMHA, LXVI, 218, et seq.; C. F. Adams, "A Crisis in Downing St.", JPMHA, XLVII, 372-424; also Max Beloff's article in the "Historical Revisionism" series, History, Feb. 1952, 49-58. The latter attempts to minimise the influence of Bright and the Radicals and to give Palmerston the chief credit for preserving the peace. The conclusions of the article are somewhat dubious; E. D. Adams, op.cit., II, 33-75.

(2) A. P. Stoddart, Slavery or Freedom in America, Glasgow, 1863, 56-7; Prettyman-Seward, 29 July 1862 (Glas.Cons.Repts.)

paper urged the Federals to recognise the truth of Gladstone's argument and give up their illusive hope of restoring the Union. "We cannot doubt," the Mail went on, "no one does doubt, the sincerity and honesty of President Lincoln; he does his best and acts in the abiding feeling of a heavy responsibility attaching to his position. It is remarkable he does not cease to try to mend what cannot be helped, or counsel his countrymen to look the facts of their condition in the face, with a view to remedy. He appears to be buffeted about by conflicting counsels and recurring catastrophes without any settled policy of action."⁽¹⁾

The Scotsman praised Gladstone for his "courage and honesty" and rejoiced that the Liberal leader had broken with the Manchester Radicals over the American question. Blaming the continuation of the war on the Radicals' encouragement of the Federals, the Whig organ asserted: "It is quite natural in that (Radical) party to be displeased with Mr. Gladstone for having spoken the plain truth, especially as this is not his first offence..... The South is a nation separate from the North, if not in race at least in feeling and interest.....It is mere madness to suppose that two sections which fight against each other /

(1) NBDM, 13 October, 1862.

other year after year with armies of half a million each, can ever again become one nation in spirit or in truth." The Scotsman was, however, careful to point out - and here again it was probably reflecting Palmerston's own attitude - that Gladstone had not, as many assumed, actually called for recognition of the Confederates, but had merely stated that they were entitled to recognition. "The according of that recognition has not become imperative, but remains open as a question of expediency," the paper asserted, and went on to suggest that immediate recognition would not necessarily bring peace, since it might rally the Northern Democrats behind the more aggressive Republican war policy.⁽¹⁾

Deploring Gladstone's speech, the Caledonian Mercury argued that the Rebellion was based on treachery and fraud, and that Gladstone could have no special or private knowledge entitling him to say that the Confederacy had definitely established its independence in a military sense. It also maintained that Gladstone, as a leading minister in a Cabinet pledged to neutrality, should not have expressed such openly pro-Confederate opinions, in view of the adverse effect they would have in America, where it would be taken as further proof that Britain was supporting the Rebellion.

Warning /

(1) Scotsman, 11 October, 1862.

Warning that Gladstone's partisan stand would exclude Britain as an effective mediator in the war, the Mercury regretted that: "The tone of his language is so unmistakably Southern that.....we confess we do not like it as an indication of Government policy."⁽¹⁾

In its October issue, the Edinburgh Review, in an article entitled "The American Revolution", came out strongly for a pro-Confederate policy. Drawing upon James Spence's current pamphlet The Recognition of the South, (London, 1862), the Review reiterated Spence's arguments for Southern independence on the grounds of national self-determination. The article coincided closely with Gladstone's Newcastle speech describing the Confederacy as a nation and gave full expression to the views of the pro-Confederate Liberals. The Edinburgh made extensive use of the old Garrisonian doctrine, which George Thompson had been propagating so vigorously two years before, that there would be a better chance for Abolition if the South were separated from the North. Comparing the Confederates with the Americans of 1776,⁽²⁾ and with the Poles vis-a-vis the Russians,⁽³⁾ the article went on: "We do not like their institutions /

(1) Cal. Mer., 9 October.

(2) Edinburgh Review, October 1862, 572.

(3) Ibid, 586.

institutions and we disapprove of much of what they have done.....but still our sympathies.....are against their subjugation. Thus whilst on the one hand we do not concur with those who wish the Union broken up simply because it has afforded the most prosperous and brilliant example of democracy on a large scale; yet on the other we cannot desire that it should exhibit the most flagrant instance which the world has ever seen of a minority of millions compelled by brute force to submit to the aims of a majority."⁽¹⁾

The Edinburgh Review went on to argue that the establishment of Confederate independence was in Britain's interest from the political point of view. The rapid growth of American power was held to be a threat to Britain and France in that it encouraged American diplomatic intransigence and "insolence". In the economic field the Republican tariff policy, which was detested by all Liberals, was held to be the most important reason for supporting the Rebellion - far outweighing the admitted fact that much British capital was invested in America. The article stressed that the establishment of the Confederacy would open up new markets for British manufacturers, free of the restrictions /

(1) Edinburgh Review, October 1862, 573.

restrictions of the Morrill Tariff. "These may be sordid considerations," the Edinburgh admitted, "but they assist in turning the sympathies of men one way or the other."⁽¹⁾

In order to reconcile the Liberal conscience to this opportunistic line, the Edinburgh developed a refined utilitarian casuistry. To those idealists who urged that policy toward the Civil War should not be based on selfish interest, the article replied: "As it is with private, so it is with public morality; the Providence of God had ordained that the real prosperity of nations, as of individuals, and the good government of the civilised world, should be worked out by the action of each seeking, within proper limits, that which is for his own interest....What is the meaning of the instinct of patriotism and the love of one's own country, except that men, in dealing with nations, should keep steadily in view the welfare of their own? On no other principle can a state maintain its place in the civilised world.....

"If this be so, why in this case are we to 'discard all selfish considerations'? Why specially on the question of Secession and our sympathy with the South or the North are we to neglect the element of advantage.....Whether we approve /

(1) Edinburgh Review, October 1862, 578.

approve or disapprove of the municipal laws and institutions of the South, their independence of the Government in Washington is nonetheless a fact. If it be manifestly for the advantage of England to acknowledge that fact by recognising the national character of the Southern Confederacy, we cannot see why their morality, for which we are (1) not responsible, should stand in the way of such recognition."

Looking forward to the economic penetration of the South after it had broken away from the capitalists of the North, the Edinburgh predicted: "It is probable that the establishment of the Confederate States would substitute a direct trade from Charleston and New Orleans, with low duties on imports, for the circuitous commerce and the extravagant tariff of New York.....That such a change as this in the trade of the world would be beneficial to England and France and would add a fresh guarantee for peace, there can be little doubt. If the ironmasters and cottonspinners of the North persisted in demanding the privilege of plundering their own people (as they certainly would do) it is to be hoped that the eyes of the Western states would soon open to their true interests." (2). The Edinburgh went on to picture with approval the progressive disintegration of America, and the resulting enhancement of /

(1) Edinburgh Review, CXVI, 590-3 (Oct. 1862).
 (2) Ibid, 590-91.

of British economic and political power. It predicted that Western opposition to high tariffs would lead to a Western Confederacy and demanded that free trade be established on the Mississippi. It also anticipated that with the development of the Canadian railway system the Canadian ports would take over the Western trade from Boston and Portland, and that this in turn would help to foster separatism in the West. Further disintegration would follow with the establishment of a Mormon state in Utah and an independent California. The Northeast would continue to be moderately prosperous, but not strong enough "to enable them as a great and formidable power to defy the world.....There seems no reason why they should lose their hold on the carrying trade of the world." (A)²⁻⁵.

The Edinburgh Review pointed to conscription, the suspension of habeas corpus, and the confiscation of Rebel property as proving that the Federals were fighting for imperialism and despotism. The writer maintained that Britain was a closer "blood relation" to the Anglo-Saxon South than to "the polyglot North". The stringent enforcement of the blockade by the Federals, and in particular their doctrine of the "continuous voyage" (whereby cargoes bound for the Rebels via the West Indies were seized on the /

(1) Ibid, 592-93.

the first leg of their journey), was also attacked, and the Edinburgh demanded that the Government take a stronger stand with America on the matter. In discussing the military situation, the Edinburgh came to the conclusion that the Rebels were winning in view of Lee's recent victories, while the large-scale retreat of the Confederate forces in the West was interpreted as brilliant strategy. Declaring that both the morale and finances of the Federals were deteriorating rapidly and that total collapse was imminent, the article concluded, "We cannot conceive of
(1)
the restoration of the Union to be possible".

In the October issue of Blackwood's, R. H. Patterson, the pro-Confederate journalist, invoked the principle of the Holy Alliance in calling for joint European intervention, and cited the examples of Greece and Belgium as cases where the European powers had made use of recognition and joint intervention while civil wars were still in progress. Admitting that recognition alone would be useless, Patterson urged that the Rebels must also be supported by "a show of
(2)
force".

On October 10, Cornwall Lewis, the Home Secretary, made an important pro-Federal speech at Herford, which was widely /

(1) Edinburgh Review, CXVI, 586.

(2) Blackwood's, XCII, 636-46.

widely regarded as being an implied rebuke of Gladstone's Newcastle speech. Lewis argued that, according to international law, the Confederacy could not be recognised until the Federals had definitely given up the struggle.⁽¹⁾ On the 20th, Murray Dunlop, Liberal M.P. for Greenock, told his constituents that the Confederates were wrong to rebel, but that the American Government should have let them go in peace. Although predicting that the Confederates would succeed, Dunlop confessed to having "Northern predilections" and asserted that the Confederates should only be recognised upon condition that they renounce the slave trade and adopt a policy of gradual emancipation.⁽²⁾ The Scotsman, concerned to show that Lewis' speech did not indicate a definite split in the Cabinet, argued that the two speeches were not necessarily incompatible, since Gladstone had not called for immediate recognition. The Tories, however, professed to see a serious division in the Government over the issue, and the Courant expressed the hope that Lewis would overcome Gladstone, the Radical leader, in the struggle and emerge triumphant in the Liberal party.⁽³⁾ The Scotsman rejected, however, Lewis' contention that international /

(1) Times, 17 October.

(2) Scotsman, 22 October.

(3) e.g., Courant, 24 November 1862.

national law prevented recognition until the Federals stopped fighting, and pointed to the recognition of Belgium while the Dutch were still holding Antwerp. The paper maintained that international law was vague on the question and left the Government free to recognise or not, as it

(1) saw fit. The Scotsman, however, questioned the claim .

of the extreme pro-Confederate party that recognition would in itself induce the Federals to cease fighting. The paper agreed with Dunlop that secession was wrong and that recognition of a state based on slavery would be abhorrent.

However, the paper maintained that the Federals were wrong to continue the war, and opposed Dunlop's plea that gradual emancipation should be a precondition for recognition, on

the grounds that this would amount to meddling in the internal affairs of another country. (2)

During the ensuing weeks the Scotsman published a number of stories, concerning (3) alleged atrocities committed by the Federals. At the

same time, the unprecedented scope and intensity of the American conflict began to receive increasing attention

from the press. The Scotsman, for instance, was deeply impressed by the widespread application of science to warfare /

(1) Scotsman, 17 October.

(2) Ibid, 22 October.

(3) e.g., Ibid, 14 November.

warfare in America:

"Americans are so fanatically fond of novelty that it is most likely that they have derived considerable consolation under the miseries of their Civil War from a consideration of its unprecedented peculiarities.....The Americans may feel excused that they feel proud at the reflection that, compelling science to become to an extent she never was before, ancillary to human military needs, they just have practically proved the advantage of possessing iron-cased-men-of-war, and used ballons for reconnaissances, have engaged the wires of the electric telegraph as aides-de-camp, and transported troops by railway on a scale in comparison with which the use which was made of such means of communication and conveyance in the struggle for Italian freedom under Victor Emmanuel and Louis Napoleon, seems but the totter of a child just learning to run alone besides the firm tread of a full-grown vigorous man."⁽¹⁾

By 6 October, the Courant reluctantly admitted that Lee's campaign in Maryland had proved a failure, although⁽²⁾ the paper did its best to minimise the defeat. The Caledonian Mercury, however, grasped the full significance of /

(1) Scotsman, 12 September.

(2) Courant, 6 October.

of the result of the Battle of Antietam and devoted a penetrating leading article to summing up the campaign. The paper emphasised the eye-witness accounts of the Rebel army, which indicated that although well-armed, it was seriously short of food and clothing. The Mercury stressed the importance of the fact that, contrary to expectations, there had been no rising in Maryland to support the Rebel invasion, and surmised that the ragged condition of the Confederates had discouraged their sympathisers in that state. The Mercury pointed out that if Lee's existing army failed to win a decisive victory, it had no reserves to fall back on, since every available man was in the field. "Looking upon the political and strategic reasons which prompted the Confederates to advance into Maryland, their inglorious expulsion must exercise a very powerful effect upon the duration of the war. We are not too sanguine of immediate results, but it must not be overlooked that the defeat of the only great Confederate army has been obtained before the strength of the new Federal levy has been brought into play.....A defeat of such a kind to the South is far more disastrous than the Federal repulse from Richmond was to the North, for that was not in any sense a breaking of the Federal strength.....It only induced the /

the North to put forth more strength which they have now done and are doing. The Confederate effort on the other hand was made with their whole strength and it was intended to be their final effort for the purpose of extracting a treaty of peace from their opponents.....That hope is now lost. Instead of dictating terms, their poor wretched soldiers have been driven back to the bare soil of Virginia, seeking safety in an ignominious skedaddle from the avenging Federals behind them.....We do not care to conceal the exultation that we feel at the turn events have taken. In common with very few journals, indeed, we have never swerved from the maintenance of the Northern cause, as that of Justice and truth in resisting a most uncalled-for rebellion for the most despicable of purposes, that of extending and maintaining negro slavery." The Mercury went on to deplore the widespread sympathy for the Rebels exhibited by the upper classes and the press, but ventured to predict, that now that the Rebels were no longer winning, "the Times and its servile followers" would be likely to
(1)
desert the Confederate cause.

The high tide of the interventionist movement was reached in the autumn of 1862, at which time the Government, prompted /

(1) Cal. Mer., 20 October 1862.

prompted by Russell and Gladstone, was seriously considering the recognition of the Confederacy. However, after the Federal victory Antietam caused the premier to postpone action until the next Confederate victory. In the meantime there came the Emancipation Proclamation and a popular reaction in favour of the Federals, which eventually deterred the Government from taking the proposed action.⁽¹⁾ Before describing how these developments were received in Scotland we shall trace the developments in the Scottish Abolitionist movement and the controversy over emancipation which preceded the issuing of the Proclamation.

(1) See C. F. Adams, "The Golgotha Year", JPMHA, XLVII, (1915), 330-40; Henry Adams, "Why did not Britain recognise the Confederacy?", Ibid, LXVI, 204-22; M. Beloff, "Historical Revisions", "Great Britain and the American Civil War", History, N.S., XXXVII, (1952), 129, et seq.; S. D. St. Clair, "Slavery as a Diplomatic Factor in the American Civil War", JNH, XXX (1945), 260-76; E. D. Adams, "Great Britain and the American Civil War".